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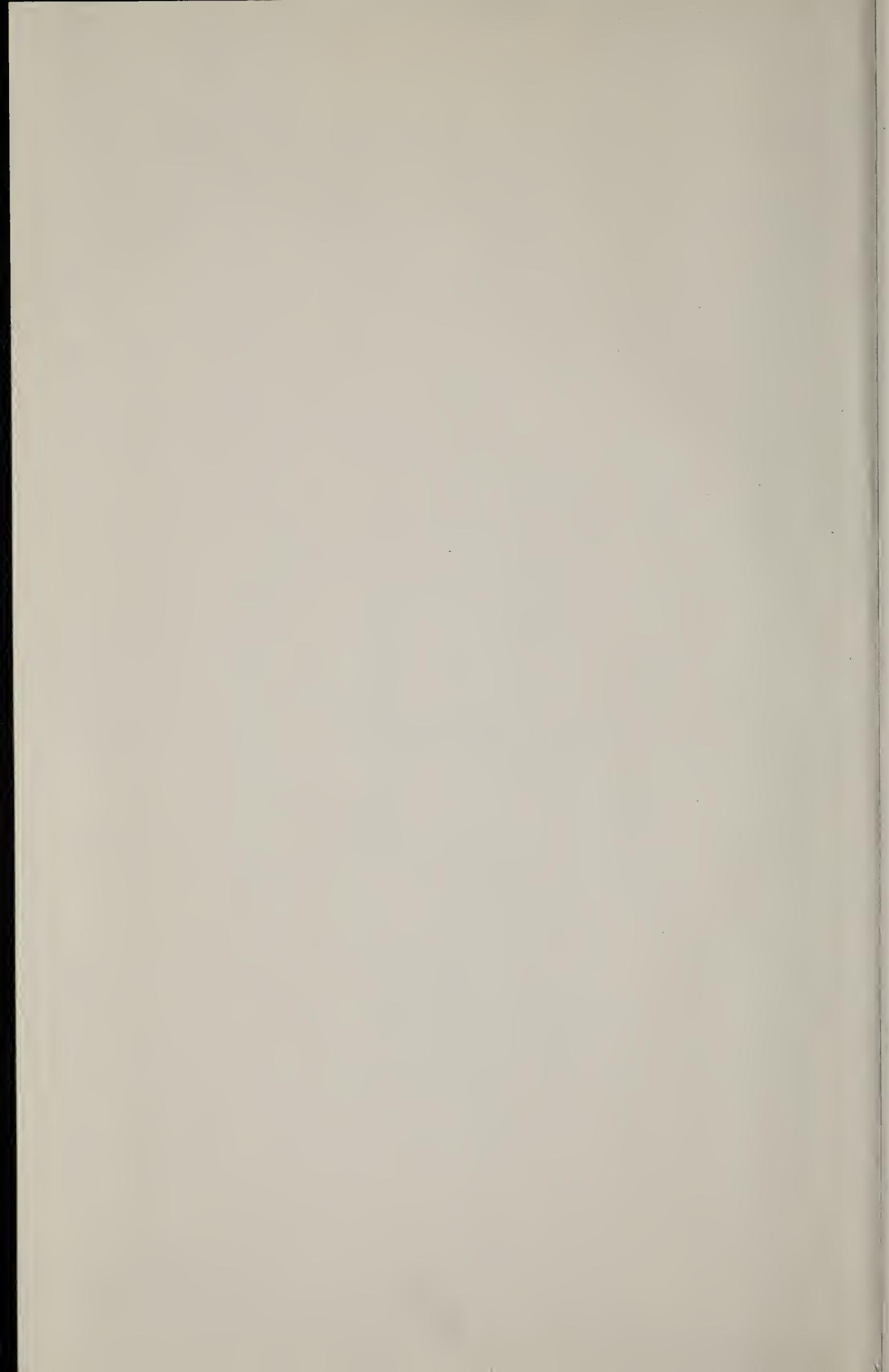
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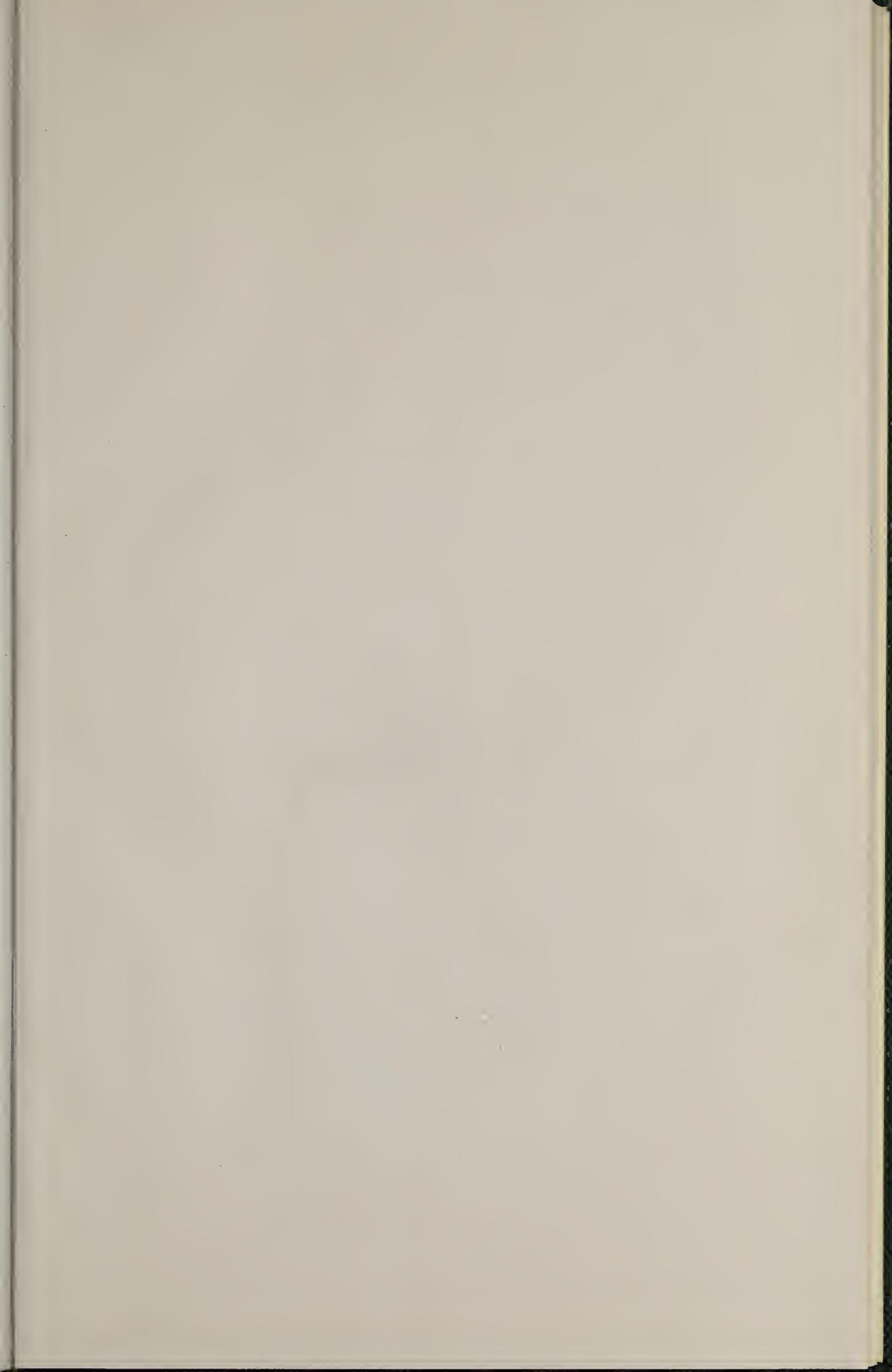
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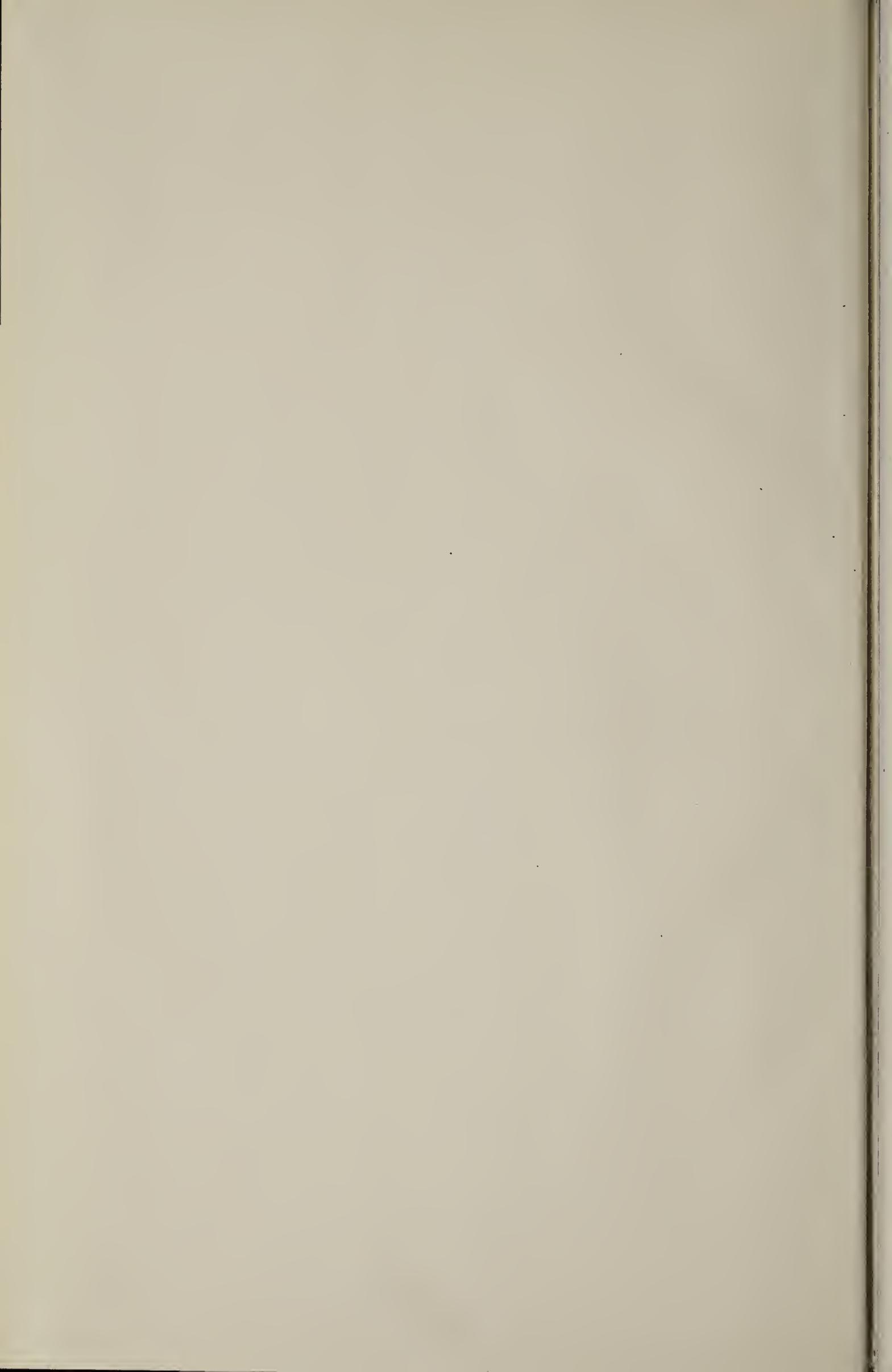
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HORATIO SEYMOUR WHEN NOMINATED FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE
UNITED STATES IN 1868.



A SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF ✓

HORATIO SEYMOUR 1810-1886

WITH A DETAILED
ACCOUNT OF HIS ADMINISTRATION
AS GOVERNOR OF THE
STATE OF NEW YORK DURING
THE WAR OF 1861-1865.

By ALEXANDER J. WALL
LIBRARIAN, THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEW YORK

1929

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PREFACE

This sketch of the life of Horatio Seymour, and particularly that part which has to do with his administration as Governor of the State of New York during the war of 1861-1865, is the result of my gathering many of his scattered papers and the personal reminiscences of his friends who came in close contact with him, and placing them in the archives of The New York Historical Society. With the new light which this collection threw upon the career of my uncle, The New York Historical Society published an article in its Quarterly Bulletin for October, 1928, written by its Librarian, Mr. Alexander J. Wall, entitled "The Administration of Governor Horatio Seymour during the War of the Rebellion and the draft riots in New York City, July 13-17, 1863, with events leading up to them." This article, with additions, is herein reprinted with a short account of the ancestry, early training and personality of Governor Seymour, and put forth in this new form for permanent preservation.

My husband, the late Charles Stebbins Fairchild, who was devoted to Mr. Seymour from childhood, once wrote: "It is not just to history, nor to the State of New York, nor to great numbers of her leading citizens that the exact facts in regard to Mr. Seymour's life, and especially his War Administration, should not be put in available form in order that his services, and the great work done by the State of New York and its citizens while he was its Governor may be properly recorded.

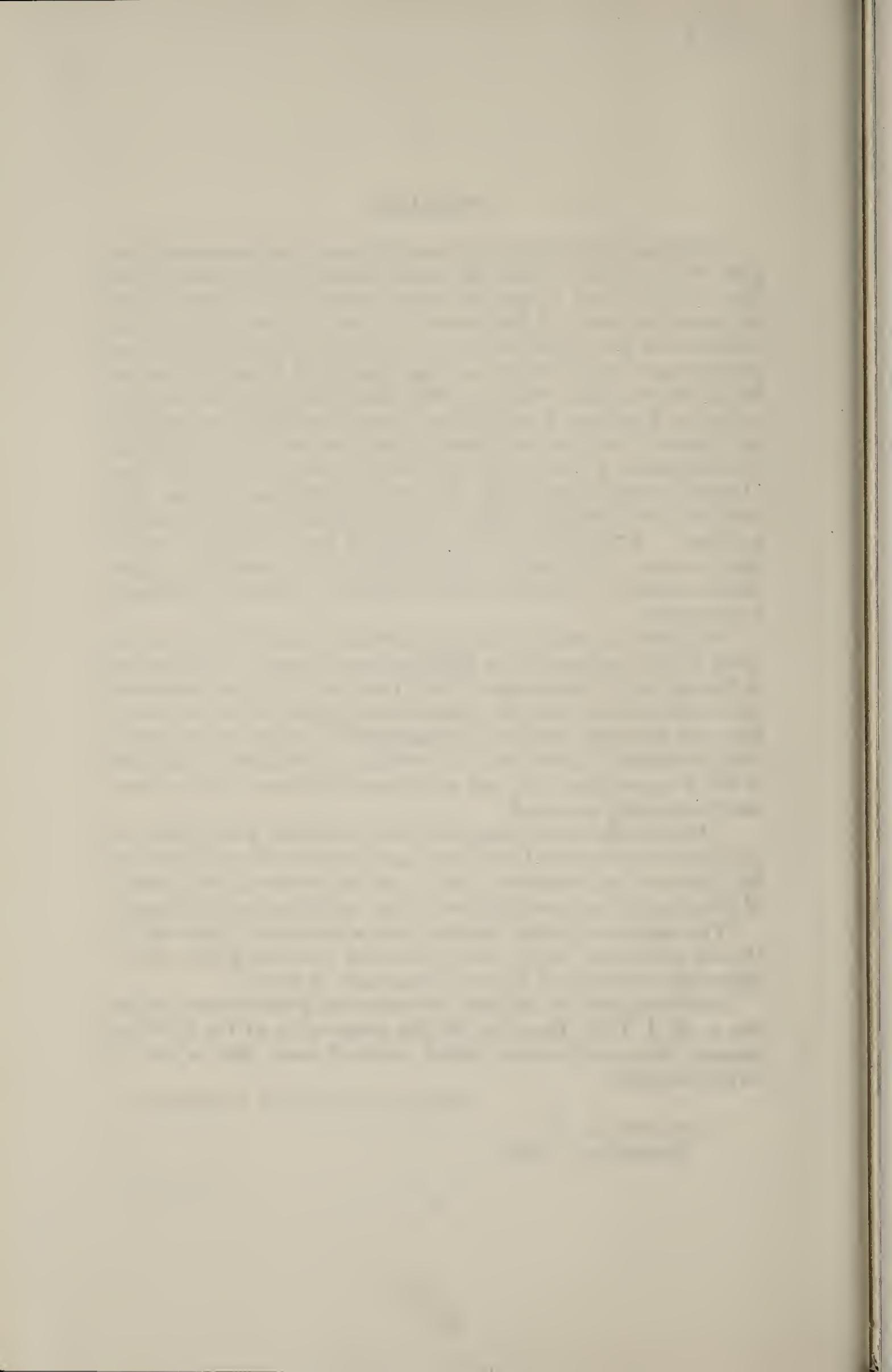
"People who cared more for their individual power than for the preservation of the Union were given a check by the election of Mr. Seymour in November, 1862, and this matter is well worthy of investigation and consideration by the careful student of history."

To a question from my mother as to why he never answered the abusive statements which were circulated concerning him, he indifferently remarked: "Time will take care of it all."

It remains only for me here to express my great sense of obligation to A. J. Wall, Esq., for his able preparation of the following memoir, the compilation of which involved more than a year of careful research.

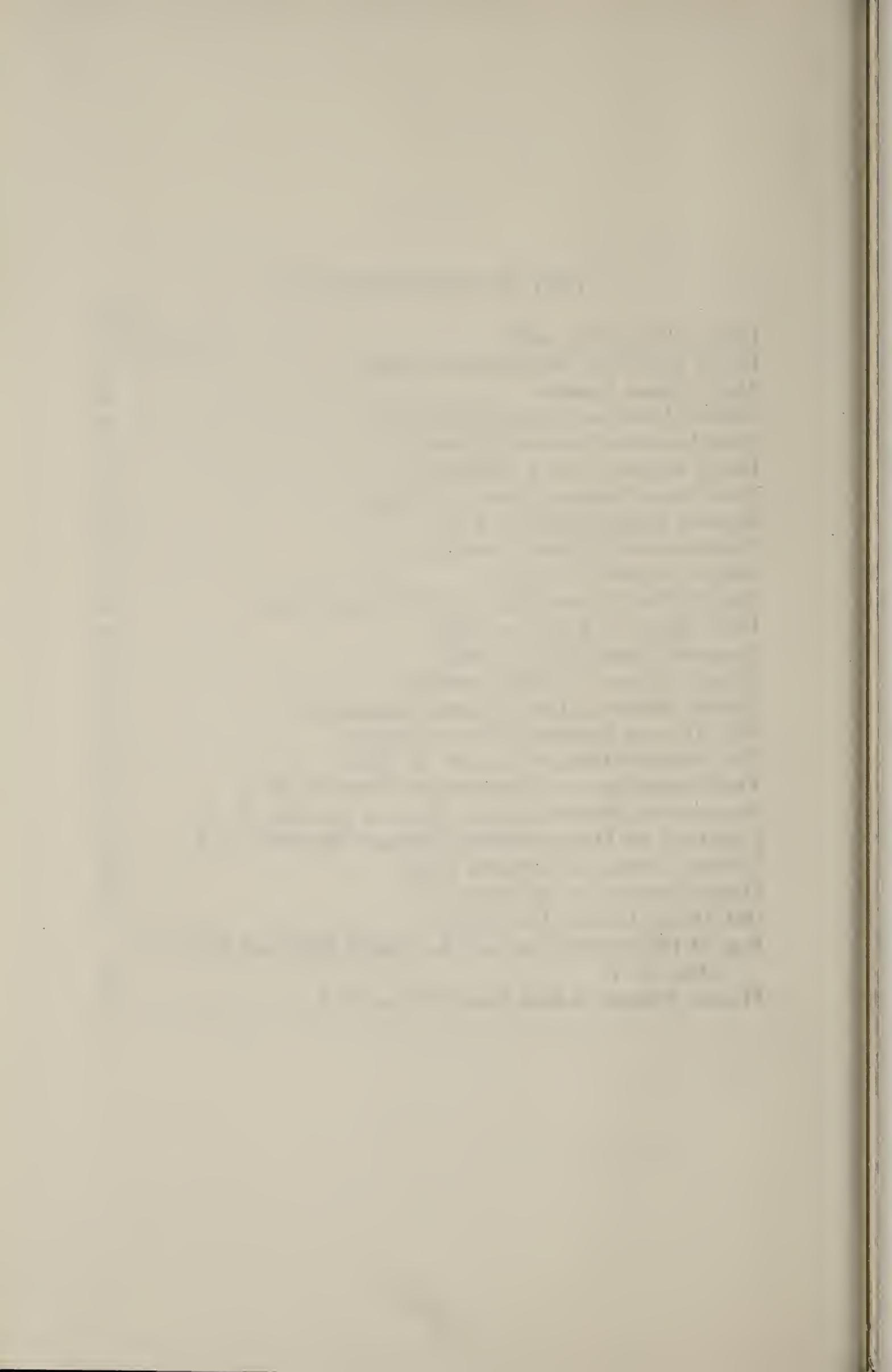
HELEN LINCKLAEN FAIRCHILD

CAZENOVIA, N. Y.,
November 1, 1928



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HORATIO SEYMOUR'S ANCESTRY

The home of Horatio Seymour's forbears, before emigrating to New England, was at Sawbridgeworth, County Herts, England. Here in parish registers of the old church the baptisms, marriages and burials of the Seymour family, the direct line of his descent, may be found.

On January 27, 1604/5, Richard "Seamer," son of Robert "Seymer," was baptized. Richard, the emigrant to New England, was the eldest child of Robert and Elizabeth (Waller) Seymour, and grandson of John Seymour and Dyzory Porter. Richard married on April 18, 1631, Mercy Ruscoe, daughter of Roger Ruscoe. His father died in August 1637, and in 1638 Richard left England, presumably under the influence of the Rev. Thomas Hooker who preached at Chelmsford, County Essex, fifteen miles east of Sawbridgeworth. In 1639 Richard Seymour appears as a proprietor and inhabitant of Hartford, Conn.¹ From the first record of this branch of the Seymour family in America the line of descent is as follows:

- 1 Richard Seymour married Mercy Ruscoe
- 2 John Seymour married Mary Watson
- 3 John Seymour married Elisabeth Webster
- 4 Moses Seymour married Susannah Treat
- 5 Moses Seymour married Rachel Goodwin
- 6 Moses Seymour married Molly Marsh
- 7 Henry Seymour married Mary Ledyard Forman
- 8 Horatio Seymour married Mary Bleecker

The family remained in Connecticut for the first seven generations down to Henry Seymour, father of Horatio.

Moses Seymour, 3d, who was born in Hartford, Conn., July 23, 1742, and married Molly Marsh on November 7, 1771, distinguished himself in the Revolutionary War as captain in Major Elisha Sheldon's Regiment of Connecticut Light Horse. Previous to joining this troop Captain Seymour served with the 17th Connecticut Regiment as captain of a troop of horse which were ordered to New York and participated in the battle of Fort Washington, New York, in November 1776. In Sheldon's Regiment Captain

¹ The English Home and Ancestry of Richard Seamer . . . by George Dudley Seymour, 1917.



Seymour took part in protecting General Washington's retreat through New Jersey, and went to the relief of Danbury, Conn., in 1777. In the fall of that year under General Wolcott he fought in the Burgoyne Campaign at Benis Heights, Stillwater and Saratoga, and was present at Burgoyne's capitulation, remaining in service throughout the entire war. He died at Litchfield, Conn., in 1826.²

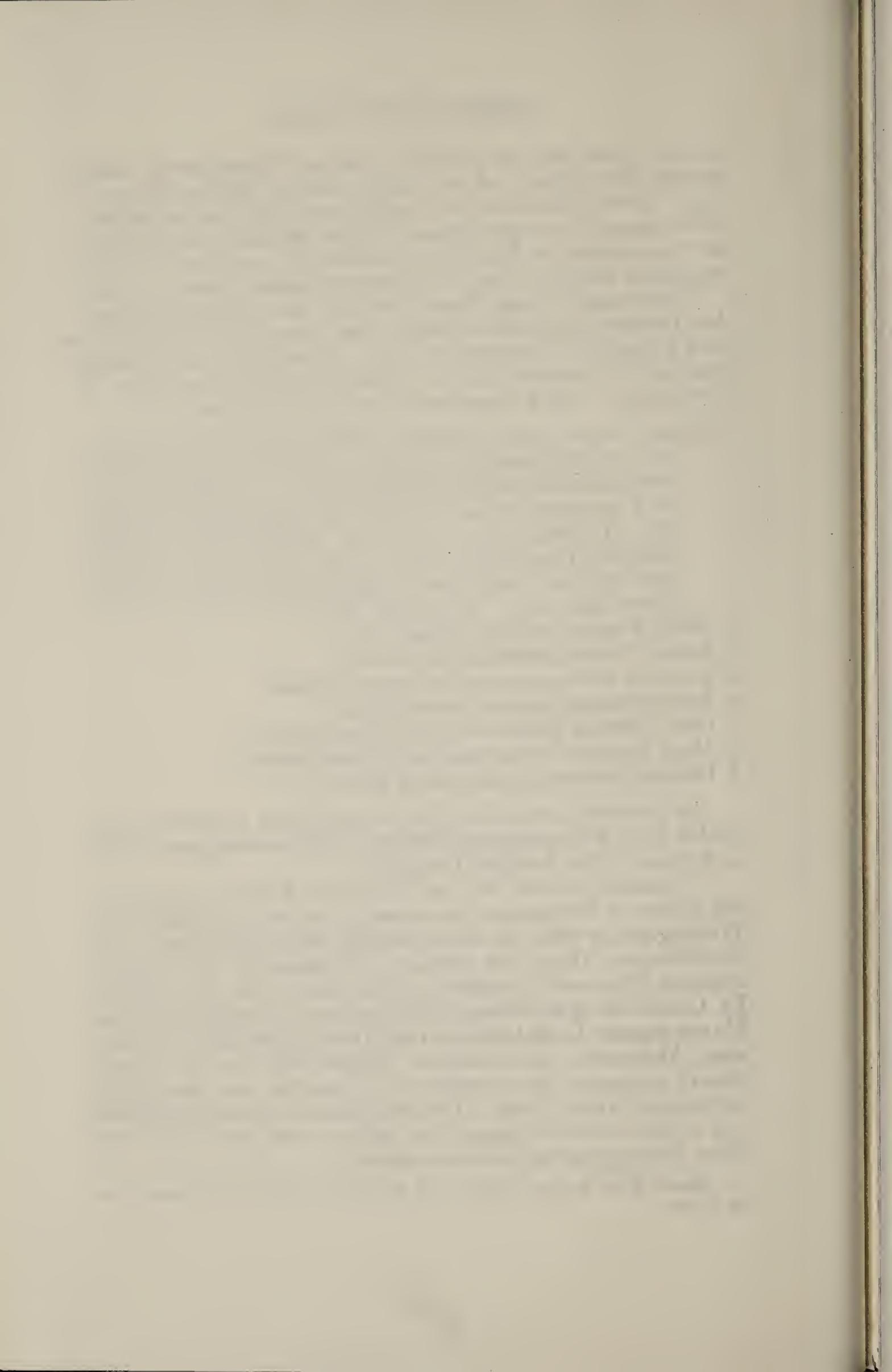
On his mother's side, Horatio Seymour was a grandson of Jonathan Forman, also of Revolutionary fame, who was born at Middletown Point, N. J., October 16, 1755. Through him Mr. Seymour inherited his membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, State of New Jersey. The Forman line of descent is as follows:

- 1 Robert Forman, who was driven from England by the persecution of Archbishop Laud, took refuge in Holland and his name, with that of his wife Johanna, are on the church register at Vlissingen, Holland, which is the English name of Flushing. In 1645 he was one of the eighteen incorporators of Flushing, Long Island, and in 1658 he was chosen a Magistrate by Gov. Stuyvesant for Hempstead, and in 1664 for Oyster Bay, L. I. He died in 1671.
- 2 Aaron Forman married Dorothy ——.
- 3 Samuel Forman married Mary Wilbur.
- 4 Jonathan Forman married Margaret Wyckoff.
- 5 Samuel Forman married Helena Denise.
- 6 Gen. Jonathan Forman married Mary Ledyard.
- 7 Mary Ledyard Forman married Henry Seymour.
- 8 Horatio Seymour married Mary Bleecker.

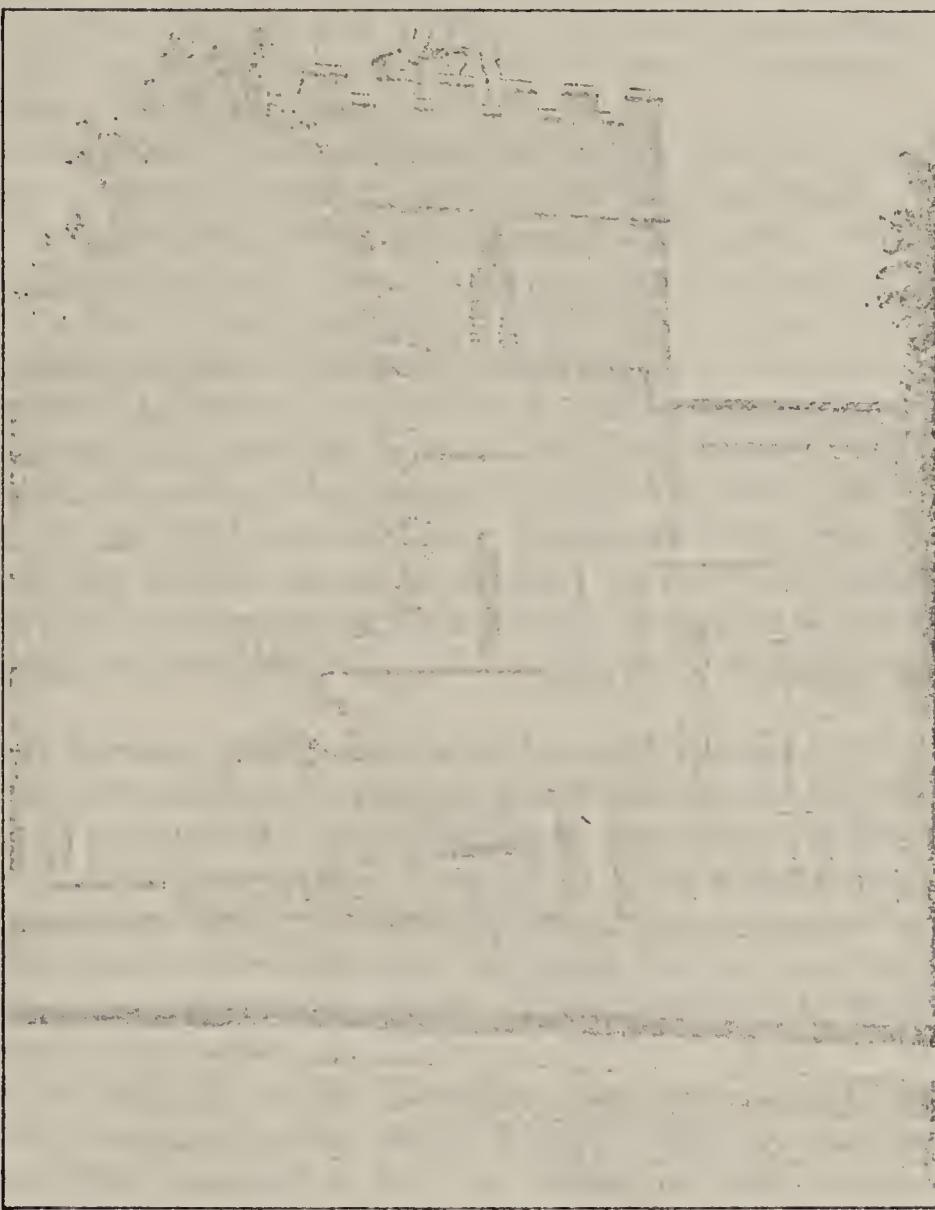
An interesting account of Col. Forman's war experiences is recorded in the following sketch written by his grand-daughter, Helen C. Seymour (Mrs. Ledyard Lincklaen) :

"Jonathan Forman, born at Middletown Point in New Jersey, left college at Princeton at the age of 19 to enter the army under Washington, in which he served through the whole period of the Revolutionary War. He entered as lieutenant in Col. Ogden's regiment (Maxwell's Brigade) of New Jersey and was afterward Lt. Colonel of light infantry in Major Gen. La Fayette's division. He was engaged in the battles of Long Island, Germantown, Brandywine, Monmouth and Yorktown (besides other smaller engagements) witnessing the surrender of Cornwallis, and sharing the sufferings of Valley Forge. He also came into the state with Sullivan in his expedition against the Indians, who, with their white allies, were committing horrible atrocities.

² Record of the Seymour Family in the Revolution by Morris W. Seymour, 1912, pp. 17-22.



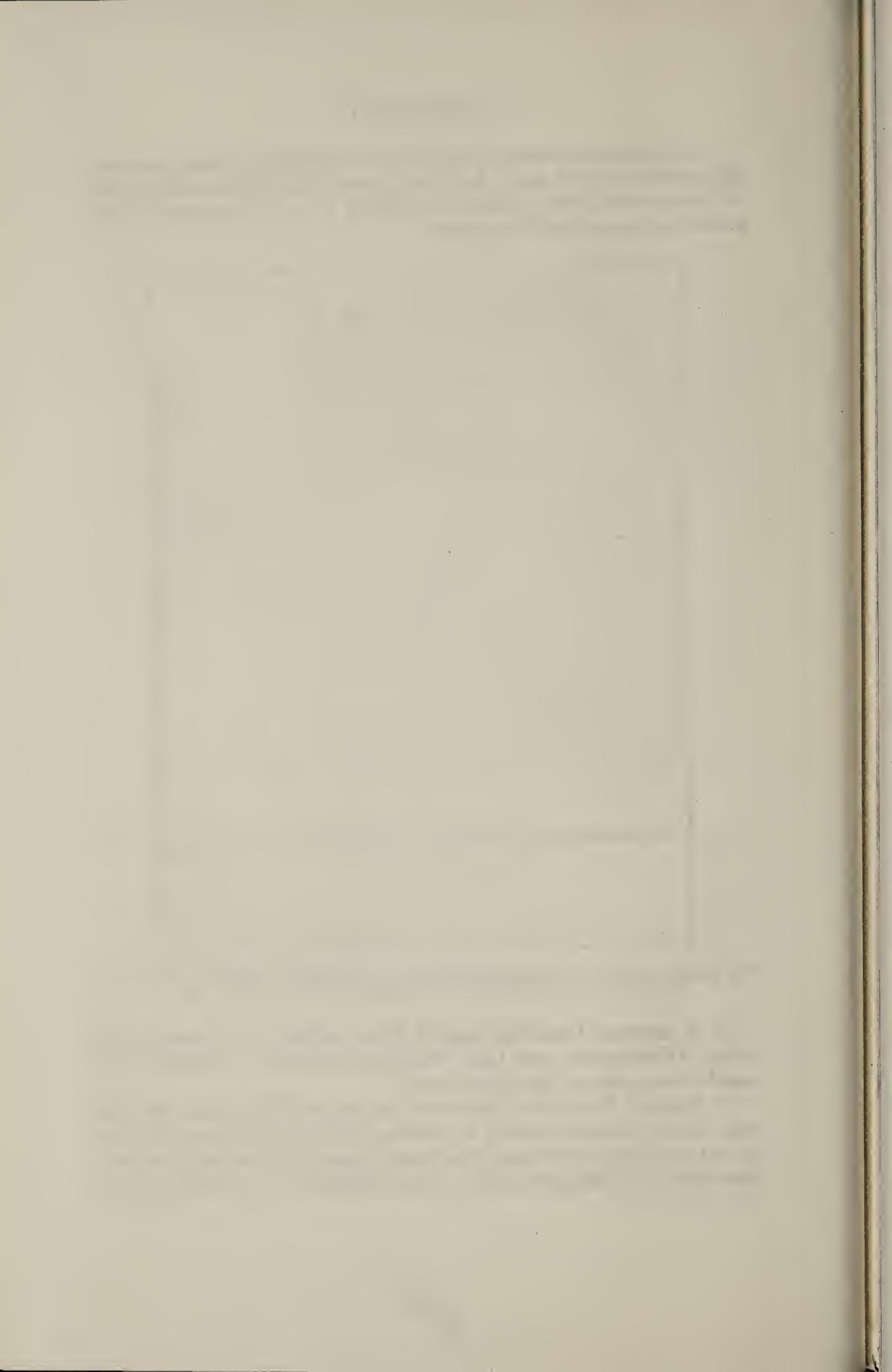
"He took command of a New Jersey Regiment when Governor Bloomfield ordered out a brigade to quell the Whiskey Boys Riot in Pennsylvania which was so formidable as to call out troops from several states under Washington.



THE PARISH CHURCH AT SAWBRIDGEWORTH, COUNTY HERTS, ENGLAND, WHERE THE RECORDS OF THE ANCESTORS OF HORATIO SEYMOUR ARE ON FILE.

"A pleasant tradition handed down relates the warmth with which Washington met Col. Forman, exclaiming 'Colonel Forman! always first in the field of duty!'

"Colonel Forman's father was an active Whig, and as such was severely treated during incursions of the hostile party, having at one time his mills burnt, his house plundered and his furniture destroyed ('Middletown Point' now Matawan). A church which



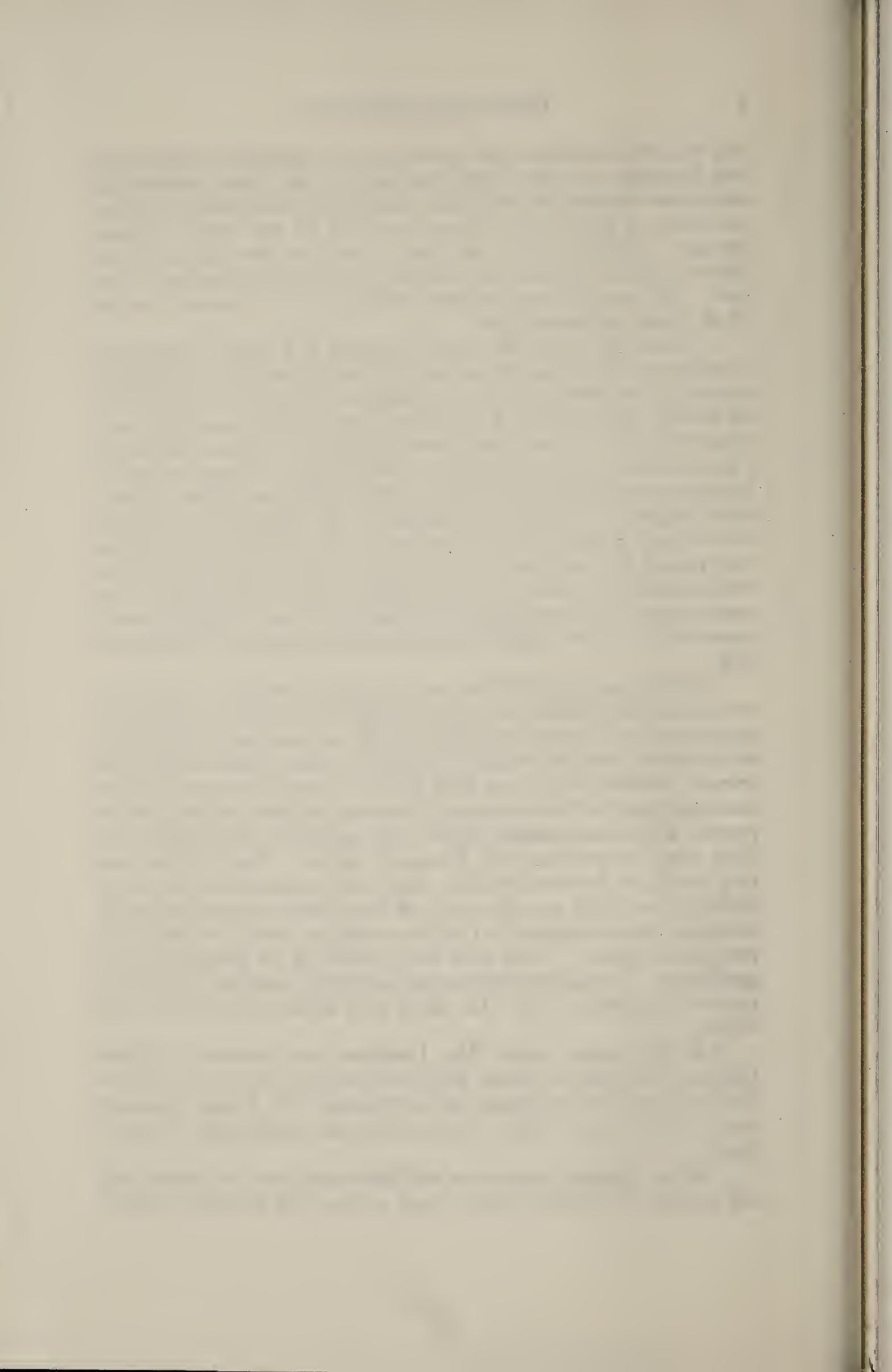
had been built chiefly at his expense and converted by Government into Barracks for the troops was burnt. His barns devoted to similar use escaped but his losses were largely increased by the depreciation of Continental Currency, which he had taken in large amounts. Thus it was at the close of the war that his son found himself without fortune and broken in health by sufferings in the field. He accepted two thousand dollars from Government in lieu of all claims for his services.

"In the year 1793 his brother, Samuel S. Forman, joined Mr. Lincklaen in his enterprise of settling the Holland Land Purchase in this Co. commencing with the village of Cazenovia. He invited his brother with his wife & only child to make their home with him, which they did. They came from Middletown Point to Albany in a sloop chartered for the purpose, enabled thus to bring some household treasures to their new home in the wilderness. From Albany their luggage was sent on batteaux up the Mohawk, the family travelling in a comfortable covered carriage which was the first that ever passed the road west of Utica (then called Old Fort Schuyler and consisting of only 20 or 30 houses) or for years after. Frequent stops were necessary to cut a branch or move a log, the family occasionally on foot while the driver kept the carriage from upsetting.

"The home to which they were brought consisted of a line of story & a half buildings, a part of which still stands on Albany St. At one end was a store containing all the necessaries of life for the settlers—and situated on Mr. Ten Eyck's place a little south of his present residence which was built by Mr. Samuel Forman after the successful result of his business & increased facilities enabled him to provide a more comfortable abode. It was sold to Mr. Henry Ten Eyck about 1820 after Mr. Forman's failure. Back of this first long low house & toward the lake was a wing containing a large high arched room which was the parlor & from which opened the guest chamber, often occupied in that day when no hotels or only very poor ones existed. There were many claims on the hospitality of a gentleman. Chancellor Kent never forgot the comfort of this little room & his pleasant visit. He spoke of it within a few years of his death.

"In this arched parlor Mr. Lincklaen was married to Helen Ledyard (daughter of Major Benjamin Ledyard) by Francis Adri'n Vanderkemp of Oldenbarneveld; afterwards Mr. Henry Seymour was married here to Mary Ledyard Forman (only child of Jonathan).

"In the pleasant season on the lake shore near the outlet the old marquee which had seen so much service with its owner during



the war served in those peaceful times as summer house. Much pleasure the old soldier took with his family in his boat on the lake which then was surrounded by unbroken forest excepting the clearing at the outlet, & undisturbed except by the Indian's canoe or by the deer that came to its margin to drink, or if alarmed, to swim across.

"Mary Ledyard, the wife of Col. Forman, was born at Groton, Conn., and was at New London at the time of Arnold's invasion. The story of her uncle's brave defense & his sad fate at the hands of his brutal enemy are too well known to be repeated. Besides Col. Ledyard, 18 of her relatives perished from the effects of the fight. She, with her cousin, Fanny Ledyard, sister of John Ledyard, 'the traveller,' went after the combat to minister to the wants of the wounded. She said she stepped over shoe tops in blood in a hollow near where they lay. After her marriage the anxieties & horrors of war still surrounded her in New Jersey. Then her father-in-law's house was entered by Loyalist soldiers; every bed was pinned by their bayonets in case anyone should be hidden there & though his wife ill in bed was unmolested, a daughter whose bright shawl attracted the eye of one of the soldiers, received a severe blow on her breast as he tore it from her shoulders, from the effects of which she never recovered. This was the mother of Mrs. Sidney Breese. . . ."

Through the Forman line of descent, Horatio Seymour has an interesting ancestor in the person of Jacques Cortelyou,³ the old Huguenot surveyor of New Amsterdam, whose daughter Helena married (second) Dionys Teunessen. Their son, Teunis Teunisson, took the surname Denise and married Catherine Van Dyck. Their daughter, Helena Denise, married Samuel Forman (son of Judge Jonathan Forman of Middletown Point, N. J.) and their son was Lt. Col. Jonathan Forman of the Revolution.⁴

By the intermarriages in these lines of descent the Dutch ancestry of Governor Seymour is also established.

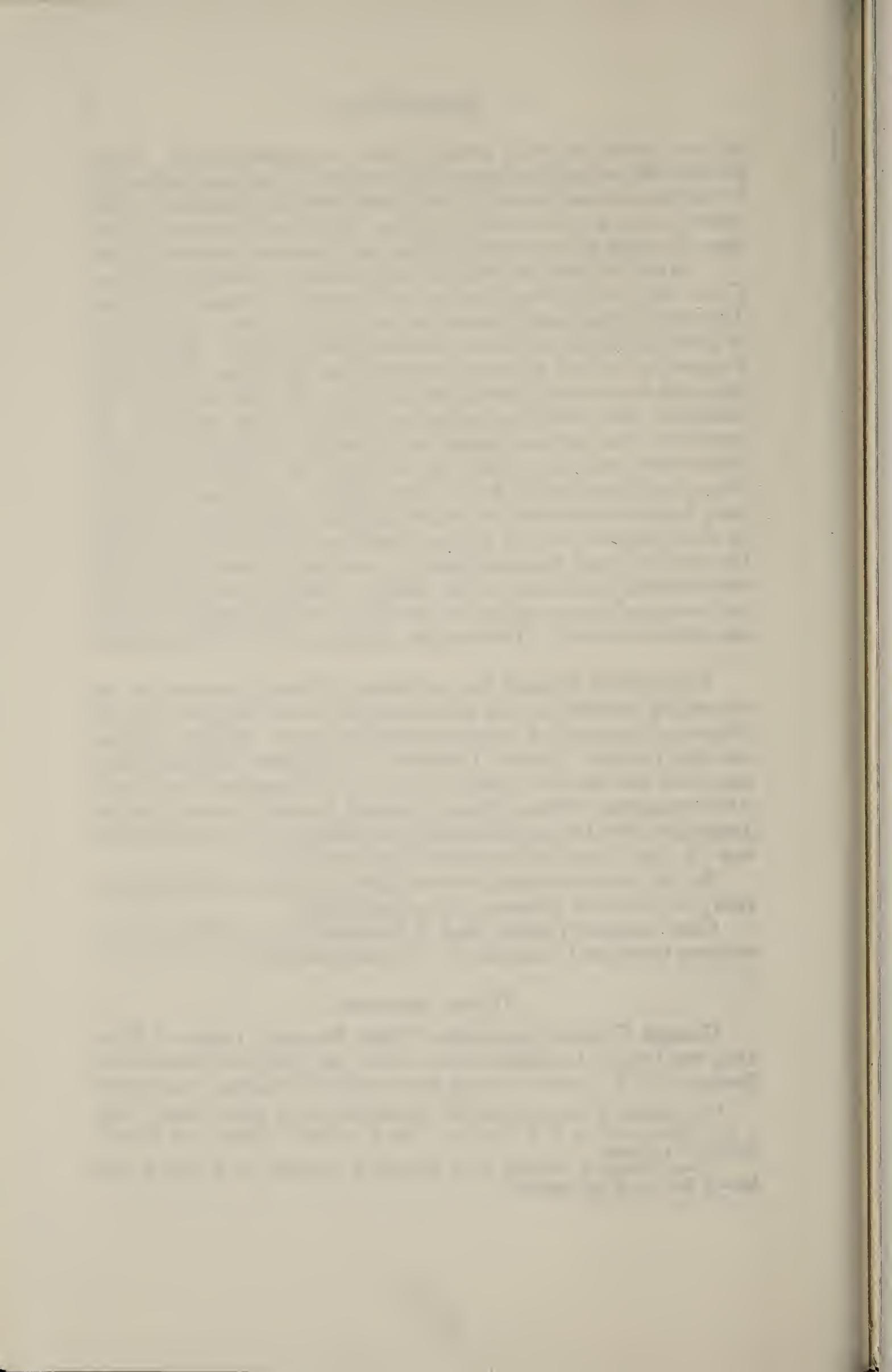
Gen. Jonathan Forman died at Pompey, N. Y., May 25, 1809, and was buried at Cazenovia, N. Y., beside his wife.

HENRY SEYMOUR

General Forman's son-in-law, Henry Seymour, father of Horatio, was born in Litchfield, Conn., May 30, 1780, and removed to Pompey, N. Y., when a young man, where he became a successful

³ For account of Jacques Cortelyou see Bergen's King's County Settlers, 1881, p. 75. Memoirs of the L. I. Hist. Soc., Vol. I, p. 126-7. Dankers and Sluyter's Journal of a Voyage. . . .

⁴ Teunis Denise of Freehold, N. J., by Helen L. Fairchild. N. Y. Gen. & Biog. Record, Oct., 1918, pp. 353-363.



merchant. He served as brigade quartermaster of the 5th Battalion, New York State militia in the War of 1812. He was named Senior Trustee in the Charter of the Pompey Academy which was



MAJOR MOSES SEYMOUR.

incorporated on March 11, 1811, serving as its first President, and later as Treasurer from October 6, 1813, to January 10, 1821.⁵ It was in this school that his son Horatio received the rudi-

⁵ History of Pompey, 1875, p. 144-145.

ments of his education. He was elected state senator from the western district and served through the 39th to the 42d session, inclusive, of the legislature, January 13, 1816 to April 3, 1819. The following year he was elected assemblyman from Onondaga County, N. Y., serving one term, January 4–April 14, 1820, and again senator in the 45th session of the legislature, January 1–April 17, 1822. He was also made a member of the Council of Appointment for the western district on January 31, 1818, serving one year. In 1819 he removed from Pompey Hill to Utica, N. Y., and was appointed a canal commissioner March 24, 1819, serving until January 9, 1832.⁶ In this work there were associated with him De Witt Clinton, Stephen Van Rensselaer, William C. Bouck, Samuel Youngs and Myron Holley, also commissioners in the construction of the Erie and Champlain canals. He resigned his position as canal commissioner and became the mayor of Utica in 1833. In 1835 he was chosen president of the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company in New York City where he took up his residence at 39 Broadway. In 1833 the legislatures of New York and New Jersey appointed commissioners to settle a boundary question between them, and for New York were appointed Benjamin F. Butler, Peter Augustus Jay and Henry Seymour. Their report was confirmed by the legislature of the state of New York on February 5, 1834; by New Jersey on February 26, 1834, and by Congress on June 28, 1834.⁷

Henry Seymour was elected a vestryman of Trinity Church, Utica, on December 27, 1834, serving until the end of 1835 when his absence in New York City compelled him to resign.⁸

Col. Forman, having consented to young Seymour's formal request for permission to address his daughter, Mary Ledyard Forman, the young couple were married at Cazenovia, N. Y., and from the family Bible this charming entry is quoted:

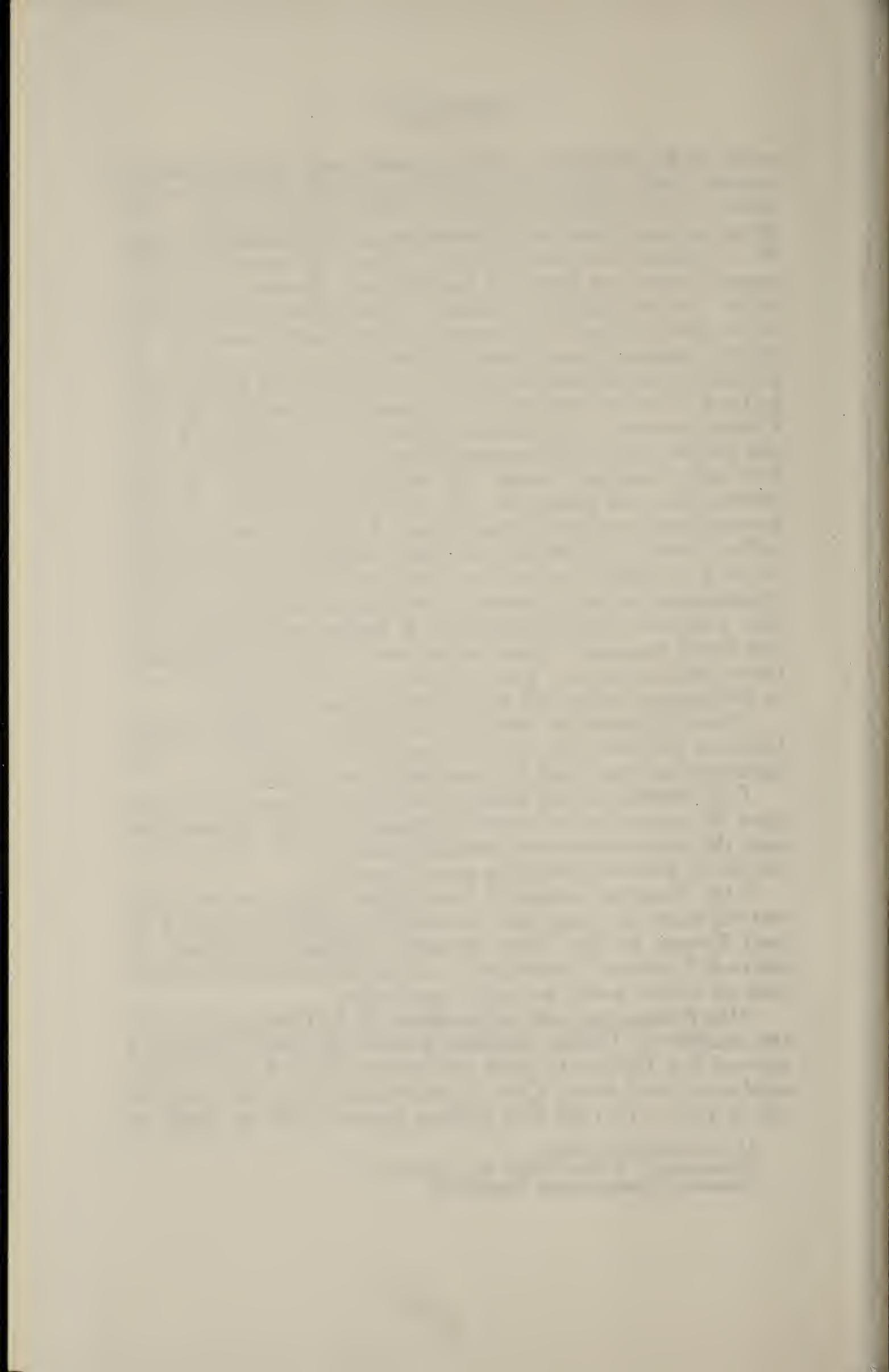
"On Thursday evening at candle light, January ye 1st, 1807, was the marriage of our only dear surviving daughter, Mary Ledyard Forman to Mr. Henry Seymour, merchant of Pompey (a native of Litchfield, Connecticut) by the Reverend Joshua Leonard, with my severe, lonely, but entire approbation."

Miss Forman was born at Monmouth, N. J., February 18, 1785, the daughter of Colonel Jonathan Forman and Mary Ledyard, a niece of Col. William Ledyard who was in command of Fort Griswold near New London, Conn., in the Revolutionary War where he fell in 1781. In 1796 Col. Forman removed with his family to

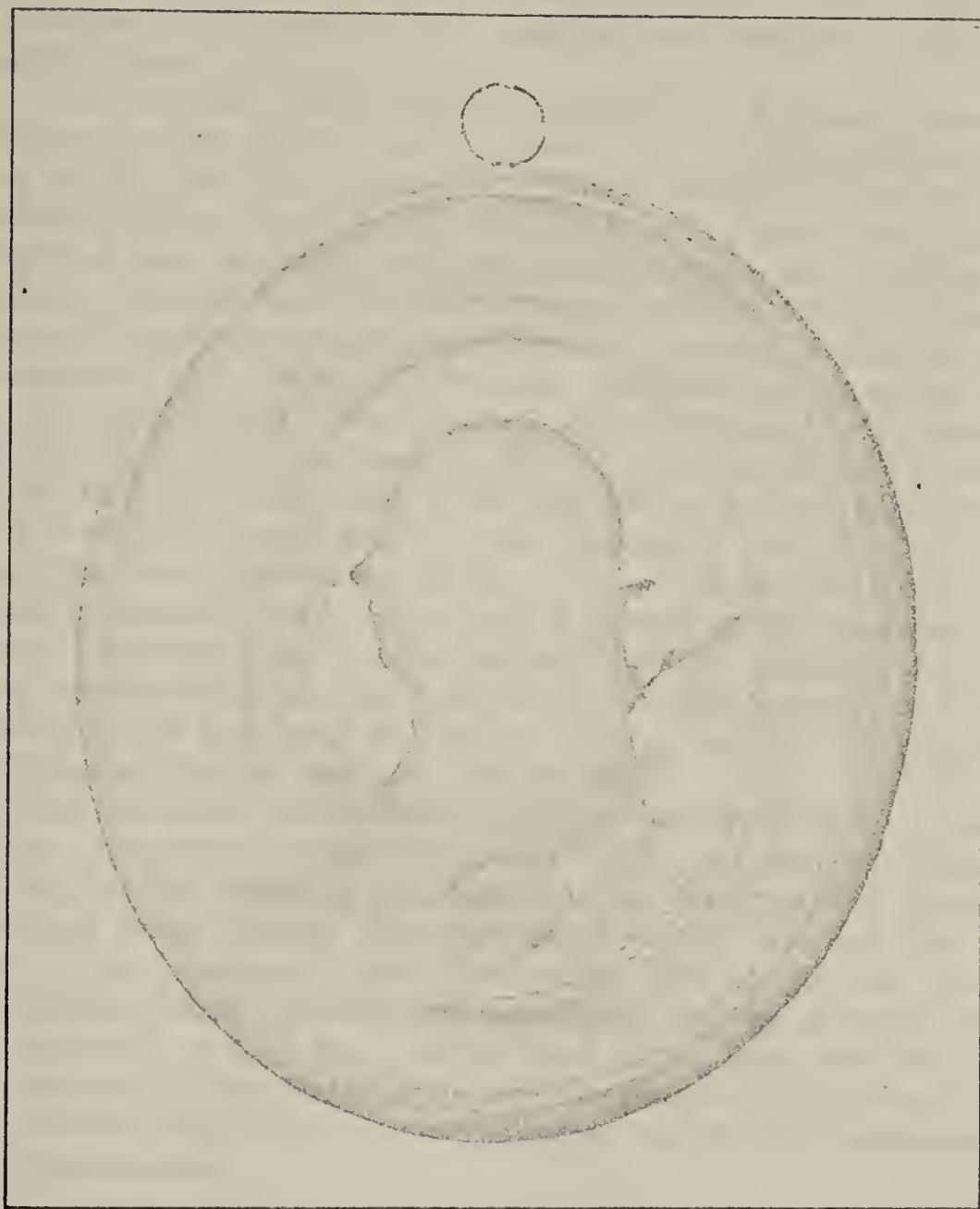
⁶ New York Civil List, 1891.

⁷ Proceedings N. J. Hist. Society, Oct., 1923, p. 260.

⁸ Records of Trinity Church, Utica, N. Y.



Cazenovia, Madison County, N. Y., then a frontier settlement, and the first under the Holland Land Company.



GENERAL JONATHAN FORMAN (1755-1809).

Henry Seymour's home was at Pompey Hill, ten miles west of Cazenovia where he had established his business. At a meeting of the First Congregational Church at Pompey held on January 1, 1813, "Abraham Northrup, Mary Tibbats, wife of Doctor Tibbats, Mary L. Seymour, the wife of Henry Seymour, Sophia Wood, the wife of Dan Wood, Sophia Jerome and Harriat Jerome, requested to be received into Communion and having given satisfactory evi-



dence of their Christian knowledge and piety were ordered to be propounded and received the ensuing sabbath." His daughter Mary (Mrs. Rutger B. Miller) wrote in 1886 a few recollections of Pompey Hill, recalling the scenes of her childhood. Her account follows.

"My parents, Henry Seymour and Mary Ledyard Forman, were married by the Rev. Mr. Leonard (the first clergyman of that part of the world) at Cazenovia. They immediately commenced housekeeping on Pompey Hill, then and until recently the highest inhabited point of land in the state. The country was recently reclaimed from the forest of which the stumps gave strong evidence. Squirrels, deer and occasionally bears took a survey of their former possessions. My father had already established an extensive and lucrative business of which Pompey was the centre. He brought the skill and enterprise from his New England home with a small capital from his father, who never expected to see him again when he started for the western wilderness. Indeed, it was difficult to convince the New England people for many years that we lived in a civilized manner. My mother was a woman of rare accomplishments. She had read the best authors and was familiar with the most polished society, equally at home in drawing room or in attending to the details of the kitchen, the nursery, or relieving the sufferings of the sick and poor around her."

The hospitality of the house embraced also their Indian friends "who were allowed at will to enter at night and sleep in front of the large warm hearth in the kitchen, which privilege they appreciated and never abused. By morning they had vanished like the mist. The magnificent views from these hills of the dark forest and smiling lakes (Oneida and Onondaga) in the distance, with the ever-varying light from the sun and shade, gave us a love for the beauties of nature and taste for the beautiful wild scenery of our country which has been a never-failing source of pleasure under all circumstances.

"We were early sent to the village school where we fought each other's battles, also those of a little colored boy belonging to my father who was sandwiched in between us."

Six children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Henry Seymour:

Mary Forman Seymour who married Rutger Bleecker Miller,
Horatio Seymour, Governor of New York, who married Mary
Bleecker of Albany,

Sophia Appolina Seymour who married Edward F. Shonnard,
John Forman Seymour who married (1st) Frances Antill Tappan
and (2d) Helen Ledyard.

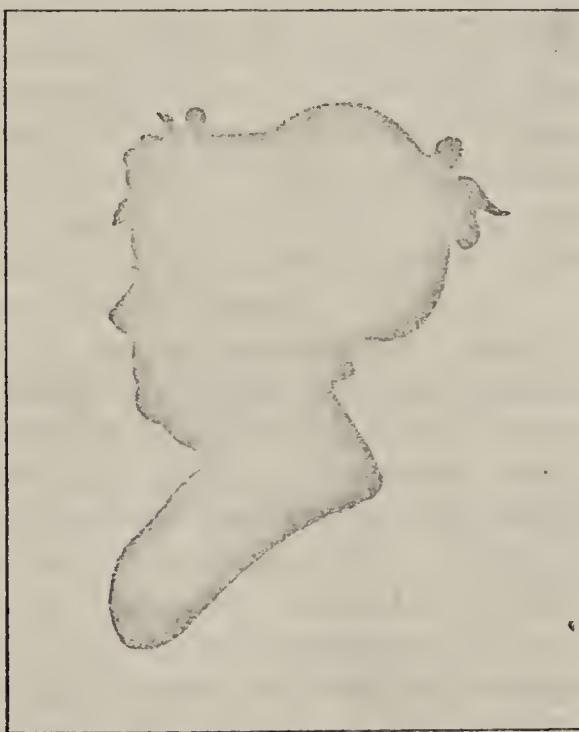


Helen Clarissa Seymour who married Ledyard Lincklaen, Julia Catherine Seymour who married the Hon. Roscoe Conkling, U. S. Senator from New York.⁹

Something of the home life this family enjoyed is preserved in a letter written by their mother, Mrs. Henry Seymour, to one of her children when in perplexity. It contains this paragraph:

"There is nothing so destructive to the happiness and better feelings of the heart as dissension. I would prefer receiving to giving an injury, and I think when you come to look back hereafter, you will be happy exactly in proportion to the forbearance you have exercised; and the consciousness that you have not only done right but generously is worth all this world can offer besides."

Henry Seymour died at Utica, N. Y., on August 26, 1837, greatly respected for his ability and beloved throughout the state.



MRS. JONATHAN FORMAN (1758-1806), (MARY LEDYARD) OF GROTON, CONN.

His wife died September 16, 1859, in Utica, N. Y. The Utica Observer of September 19, 1859, said of her: "She was eminently a lady—a Christian lady—and no one could know her without feeling the influence of her refinement of thought and manner, her pleasant cheerfulness, and her watchful and constant regard for the happiness of others. . . . Her life was an example and pattern of a true and faithful daughter, wife and mother."

⁹ The Forman Genealogy, 1903, p. 78.



EARLY TRAINING OF HORATIO SEYMOUR

With this background it is not surprising that Horatio Seymour was a patriot, and a man most considerate of others, yet fearless in following truth and justice to the end. He was born at Pompey Hill, Onondaga County, N. Y., on May 31, 1810, and was baptized in the First Congregational Church on January 17, 1813, by Jabez Chadwick, Moderator.¹⁰ The family homestead is no longer standing although the small building which replaced it is still pointed to as the birthplace of Horatio Seymour.

His boyhood days, so pleasantly recalled by his sister, Mrs. Miller, in the preceding account of Pompey Hill, were ended there at the age of nine when his parents moved to Utica, N. Y., to reside at 36 (now 102) Whitesboro Street. He attended the Utica Academy under principal Capt. Charles Stuart, and at the age of thirteen (in 1823) he was sent to Oxford Academy at Oxford, N. Y., over which David Prentice presided as principal, and in whose family young Seymour and the (later) Justice Ward Hunt lived. Dr. Prentice and his wife had an excellent influence on the boys attending the academy which made a lasting impression upon their lives. Thirty-two years later (1855) at Christmas time Mr. Seymour and four other pupils of the class of 1823 wrote a letter to Dr. Prentice expressing their affectionate regard for him and enclosing a gift of money from each of them.¹¹

In 1824 young Seymour attended for a short time the Geneva Academy (now Hobart College), and the following year was sent to the military school at Middletown, Conn., known as the American Literary, Scientific & Military Academy, which was conducted by Captain Allen Partridge under whom he acquired the military bearing which he carried through life. Captain Partridge was a graduate and later an instructor of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, serving also as Superintendent 1815-1817.¹²

For a time the Middletown academy was very prosperous, drawing cadets from almost every state in the Union. With Horatio Seymour at the academy was his cousin, Thomas Horatio, son of Moses Seymour, later "the hero of Chapultepec," Governor of Connecticut, and still later United States Minister to Russia.

Our young cadet spent his vacations at home, a straight, manly youth in his school suit of blue and gold, occasionally bringing his cousin with him. Until this time young Seymour was in delicate

¹⁰ Original Record book of the First Congregational Church, Pompey, N. Y.

¹¹ Memorial Sermon by the Rev. Charles H. Gardner, Trinity Parish, Utica, N. Y. Newspaper clipping.

¹² Biog. Register . . . U. S. Military Academy . . . Vol. I, pp. 69-70.



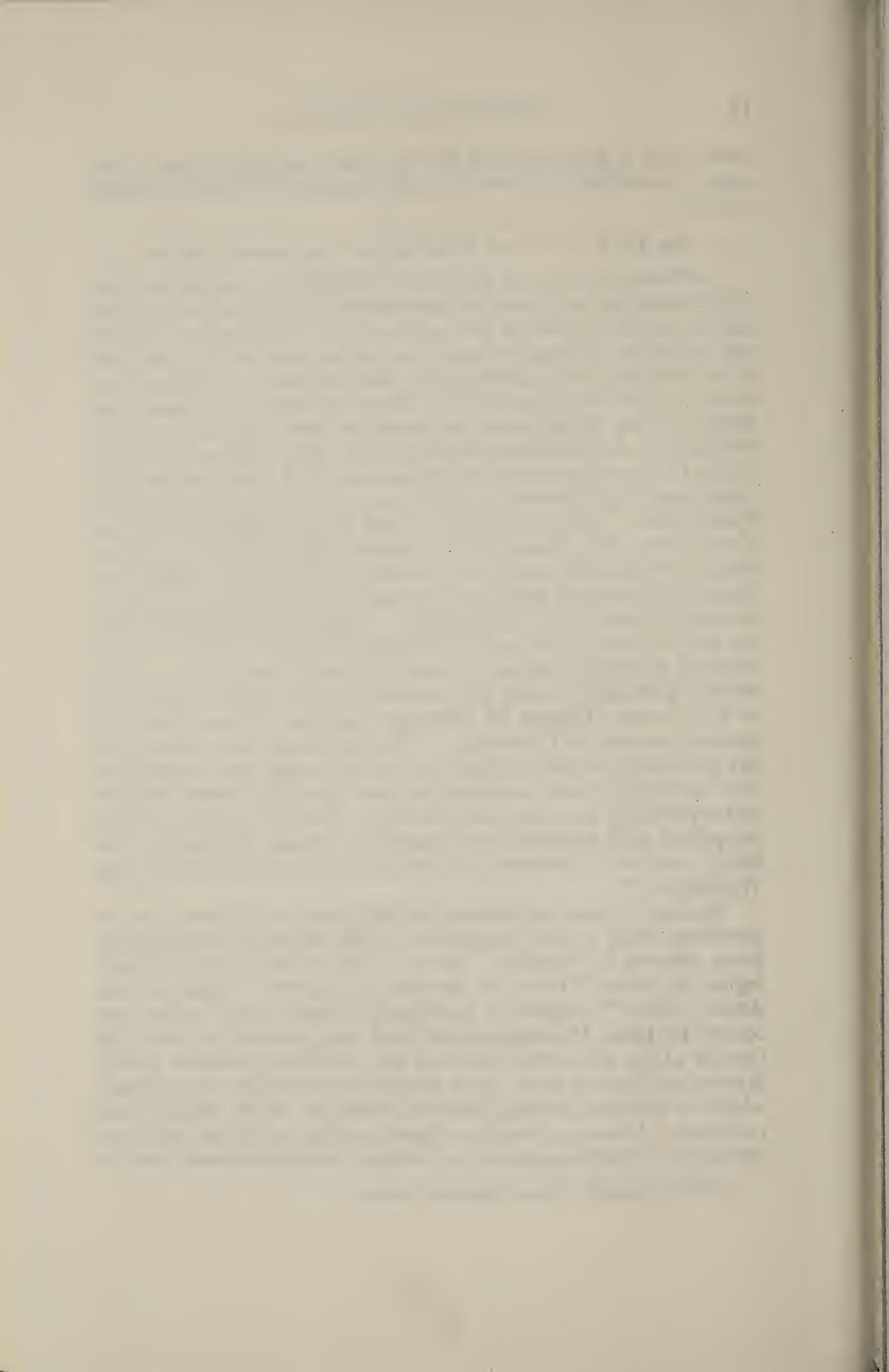
health, and it is claimed that his two years' training in Capt. Partidge's school laid the foundation for the good health he afterward enjoyed.

HIS TOUR WITH THE MIDDLETOWN ACADEMY CADETS

In December, 1826, a detachment of eighty-two cadets from the Middletown academy made an excursion to Washington, D. C., during the annual vacation of the institute and at a time when congress was in session. Young Seymour went on this tour and in later years often described his experiences on that occasion. The corps embarked on the steamboat *Oliver Ellsworth* down the Connecticut River to Long Island Sound and thence to New York, where, after two days of entertainment in seeing the city, they sailed on one of the Union Line steamboats for New Brunswick, N. J., then continued by stage coach via Princeton to Trenton, and again by steamboat to Philadelphia. After a short stay there they proceeded by boat to New Castle, Del., thence by stage sixteen miles across the neck of land to Frenchtown where they boarded a steamboat for Baltimore. Stages next conveyed them twenty-seven miles to Roseburg and they marched the next day to Washington. Twelve days—from December 4th to 16th—were used in reaching their destination. An interesting anecdote is related of young Seymour, who, with the rest, reached Baltimore on this trip, but who, at that place, strayed off with his cousin, Thomas H. Seymour, and Isaac Morse (later the attorney general of Louisiana). They wandered about seeing the city but taking no note of the time, so that, when they returned to their hotel, they were astonished to learn that their fellow-students had departed by stage two hours before. Thus stranded, they were compelled, with knapsacks and muskets, to tramp all night on the lonely road, and at daybreak rejoined their corps on the march into Washington.¹³

Among the many experiences of the Cadets on this tour, one in particular made a deep impression on Mr. Seymour, to which he often referred in later life. It was a visit to the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon on December 23, 1826. After the addresses which "occupied a considerable time," the "vault was opened by Judge Washington, and each one permitted to view the interior of the place that contained the mouldering remains of the greatest and best of men. It is impossible to describe the feelings, which an entrance into this hallowed sepulchre of the mighty dead produced. Language could not paint, neither could the lips give utterance, to emotions so new, so strange, and at the same time so

¹³ Howard Carroll's *Twelve Americans*, pp. 4-5.



awfully sublime. We felt as though the ground we trod was consecrated in the holiest manner, and we moved slowly, yet lightly and silently over its surface—we felt as children feel when standing over



HENRY SEYMOUR (1780-1837), FATHER OF HORATIO SEYMOUR.

(From a miniature in possession of Mrs. Walter G. Oakman.)

the grave of a beloved parent, and, although it was his sacred dust only that was sensibly encased before us, yet our mind's eye viewed his undying soul, tasting the purest joys which the paradise of heaven



can bestow—the reward of its virtuous deeds. We approached and placed our hands on his coffin tenement—it was like the touch of a sainted spirit—the thrilling, ethereal influence sped back upon the heart, and for a moment stifled its throbbing energies. A burst of feeling followed, and the swelling bosom sent forth in silence its fervent aspirations to Heaven, that, like Washington, we might possess and practice his stern republican virtues, although we might never expect to rank his equal in the annals of fame. Each withdrew in solemn stillness from the vault, fearful that the lightest tread of footsteps might disturb the calm, peaceful slumbers of the virtuous dead. . . .”¹⁴

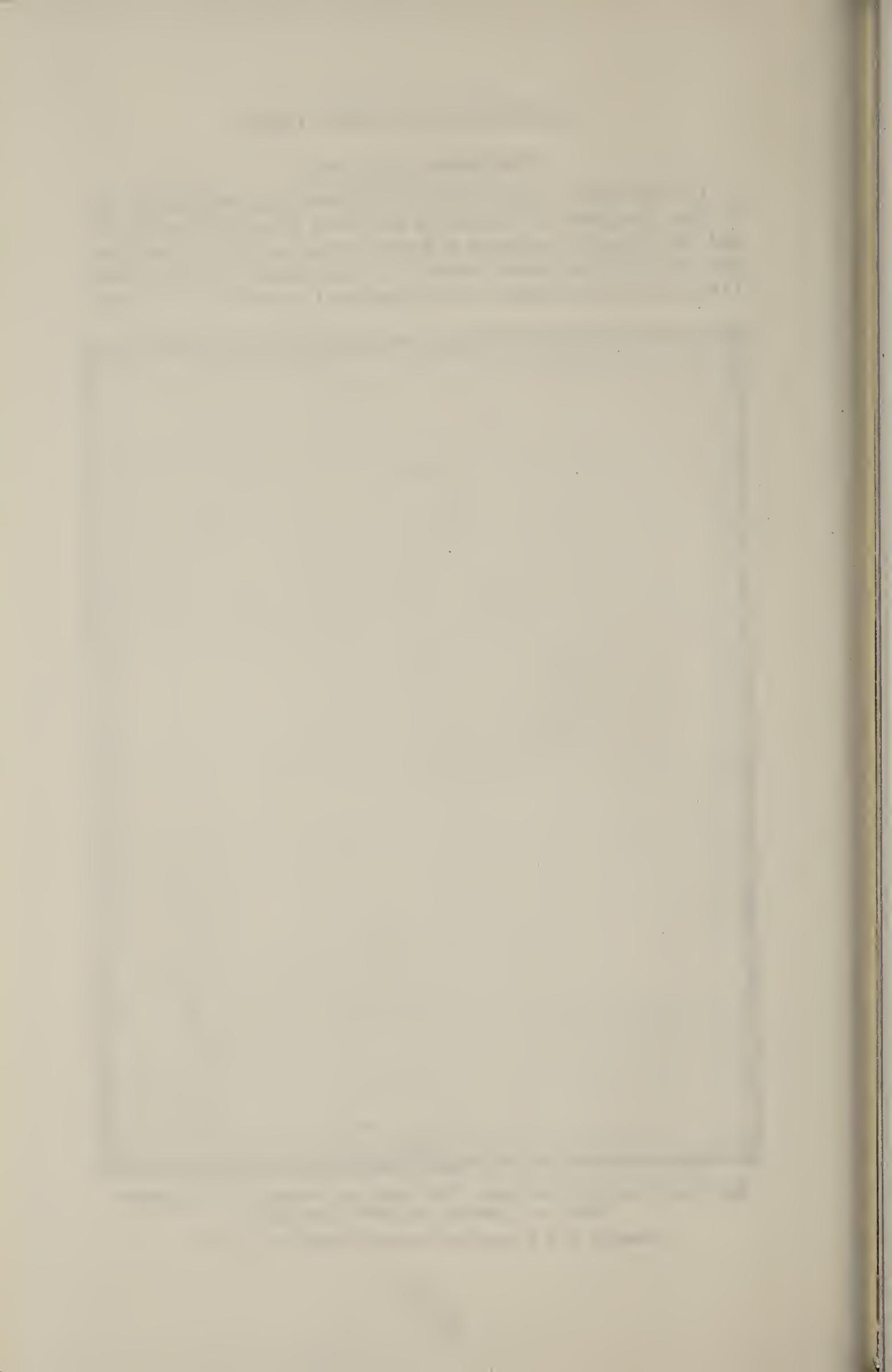
At each place where they stopped a kindly welcome was accorded them by kindred corps of cadets, and all the important places of each locality were visited for their instruction. The trip occupied the best part of a month, and a complete and interesting record of it is preserved in print under the title: “Journal of a Tour of a detachment of cadets, from the A. L. S. & M. Academy, Middletown, to the City of Washington in December, 1826,” printed at Middletown, Conn., 1827, 100 pages. Young Seymour’s uncle, Horatio Seymour, for whom he was named, was a senator from Vermont at the time of the cadets’ visit, and through his influence they saw and met, among others, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, John Randolph, Alexander H. Stephens and Daniel Webster.

Several years after his schoolday experiences, Mr. Seymour again visited Baltimore and Washington with his father who was a delegate to the national convention held in Baltimore which nominated Andrew Jackson for the second time. Later they were invited to dine with President Jackson in Washington. These visits to the national capital gave Horatio Seymour the opportunity of meeting many prominent men, and it is not unlikely that his interest in political affairs all through his life was stimulated by his early experiences.

GOVERNOR MARCY’S SECRETARY

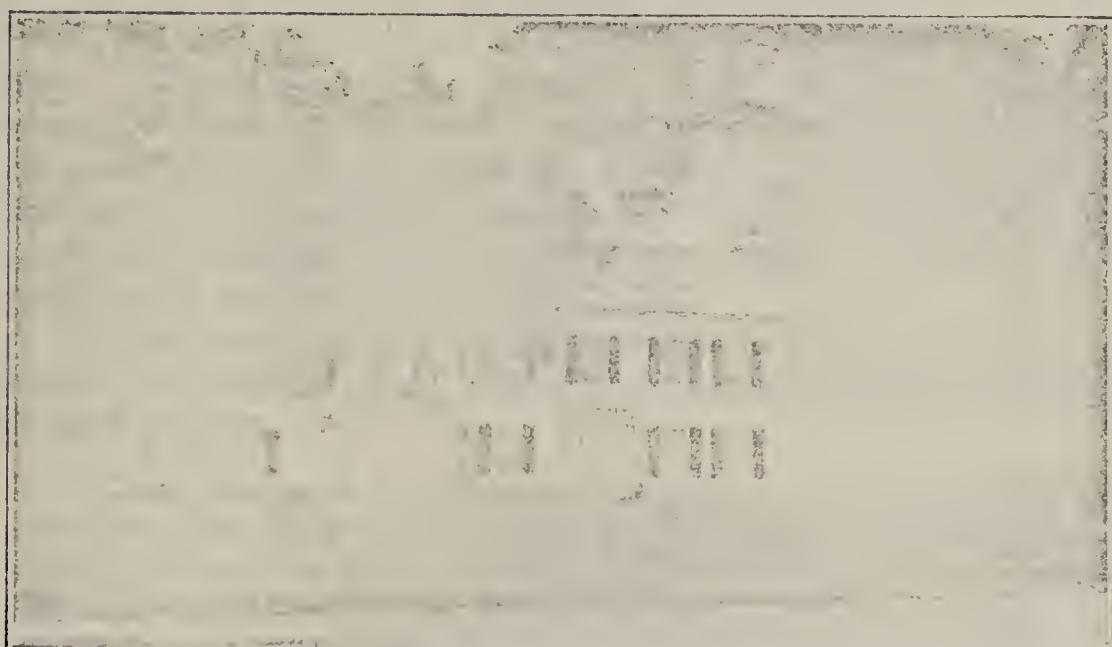
After completing his studies at the Middletown academy young Seymour studied law with Green C. Bronson and Samuel Beardsley of the Oneida County bar, to which he was admitted in 1832. He never engaged in actual practice of the law, however, as he was appointed military secretary to Governor William L. Marcy in 1833, serving until 1839, and so drawn into politics which he followed all his life, acting in the many capacities hereafter related.

¹⁴ Journal of a Tour of a Detachment of Cadets from the A. L. S. & M. Academy, Middletown, to the City of Washington in December, 1826, pp. 89-90.



New York in the years 1845-1847; 1851-1853; 1855-1856; 1858; 1860; 1865 and 1867. He served as a deputy to the general conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States in the years 1847, 1853, 1856, 1859, 1862, 1865 and 1868, where he was frequently heard addressing these gatherings. He was, said Dr. Gardner, a man of deep faith, "not ascetic nor puritanical, not censorious nor pretentious."

On one occasion in the convention at Philadelphia, October 4, 1862, when a division threatened the meeting due to the Southern agitation, Horatio Seymour addressed the meeting and by his elo-



THE HOUSE OF MAJOR MOSES SEYMOUR, IN LITCHFIELD, CONNECTICUT. FATHER OF HENRY SEYMOUR OF UTICA, N. Y., AND GRANDFATHER OF HORATIO SEYMOUR, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

No longer standing.

quence and clear presentation of the facts prevented a separation of the Northern and Southern factions. "Let the bonds of brotherhood so remain that on another day we may meet our southern brethren once more and drown the remembrances of past differences in the tears of a heartfelt reconciliation" were his words to this church convention, and although not recorded in the journals of the convention, his address was printed in the newspapers of the day.¹⁵

He also served as a trustee of the General Theological Seminary in New York from 1850 to 1862. In these conventions Mr. Seymour worked with William H. Seward, Daniel S. Dickinson, Thomas T. Chew, J. Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving.

¹⁵ Newspaper clippings, Seymour Collection, The New York Historical Society.



POLITICAL LIFE

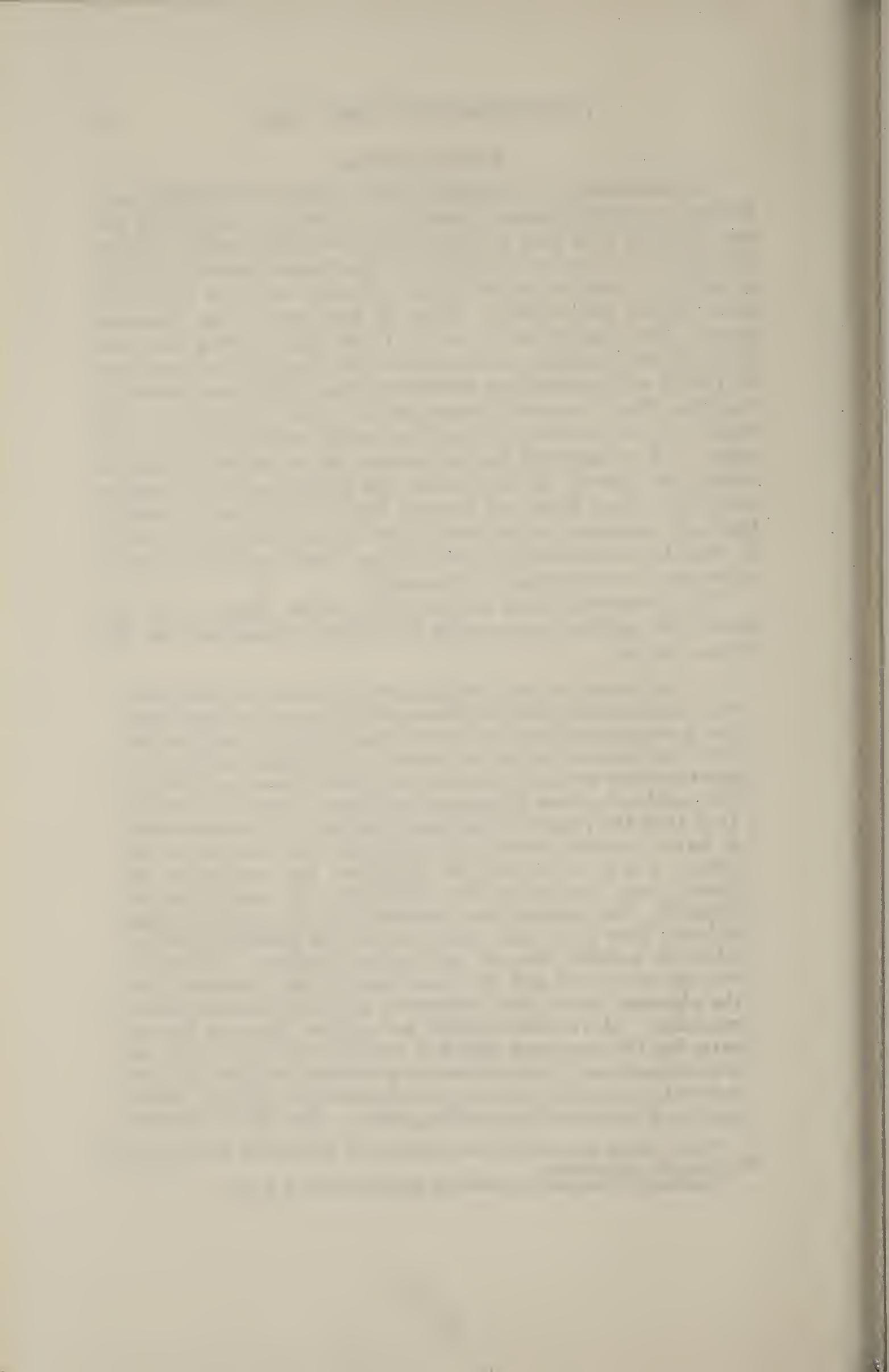
He was elected to the Assembly from Oneida County three times, serving in the 65th session, January 4 to April 12, 1842; 67th session, January 2 to May 7, 1844; and in the 68th session, January 7 to May 14, 1845, at which time he was chosen Speaker, an honor of which he was always proud, and an office which he filled with great dignity and fairness. After his first term in the Assembly he was chosen mayor of Utica, N. Y., in 1842, serving one year. While in the Assembly he was chosen Chairman of the Committee on Canals and presented an exhaustive report which was printed in the New York Assembly Documents of 1844, No. 177.¹⁶ This report was the basis of the Erie Canal policy of the State for many years. "He advocated the employment of the surplus revenue to enlarge the locks of the Erie Canal and proceed with the construction of the Black River and Genesee Valley Canals, and he showed thorough confidence in the development of trade with the west."¹⁷ In 1852 he was elected governor of New York, and again in 1862, as related in another part of this work.

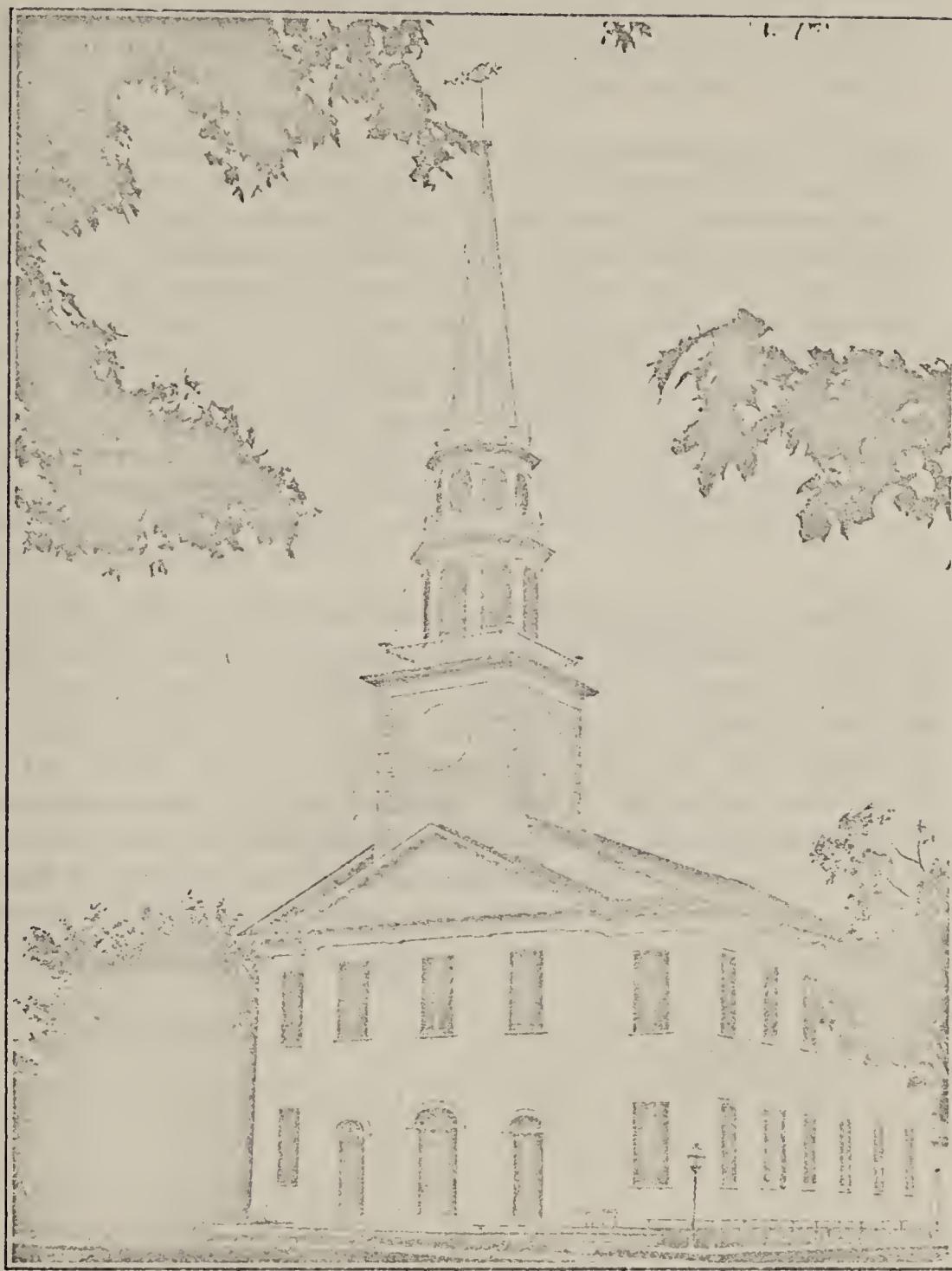
Mr. Seymour's speech at Springfield, Mass., July 4, 1856, expressed the political views which he followed throughout his life. He said in part:

"The theory of local self-government is not founded upon the idea that the people are necessarily virtuous and intelligent, but it attempts to distribute each particular power to those who have the greatest interest in its wise and faithful exercise. It gives to every township the right to direct its own local affairs; the people of a town being more intelligent about their own affairs than the people of any other locality. In the same way it leaves to every county the legislation that pertains to the county, and to every State the legislation that pertains to the State. Such distribution of political power is founded on the principle, that persons most interested in any matter manage it better than even wiser men who are not interested therein. Men act precisely thus in their private concerns. When we are sick we do not seek the wisest men in the community, but the physician who is best acquainted with our disorder and its remedies. If we wish to build, we seek not the most learned man, but the man most skilful in the kind of structure we desire to erect; and if we require the services of an agent, the one is best for us who is best acquainted personally with our wants, and most interested in satisfying them. The Bible intimates

¹⁶ Supp. Annual Report of the State Engineers & Surveyors of New York, 1905, Vol. I, pp. 173, 203, 213-214.

¹⁷ Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. 5, p. 475.





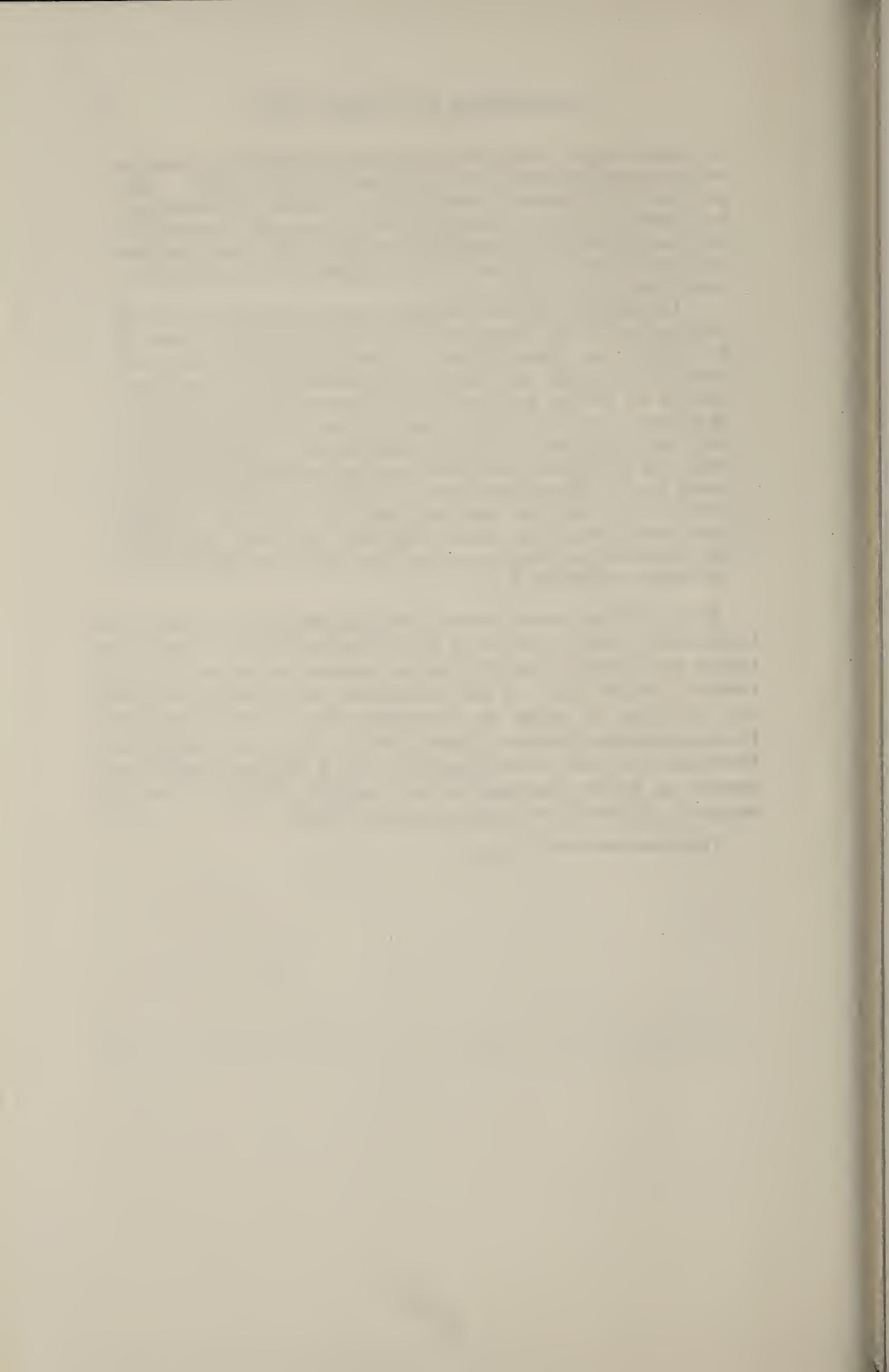
FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, POMPEY, N. Y., WHERE HORATIO SEYMOUR
WAS BAPTIZED.

this course when it says, that a man can judge better in relation to his own affairs than seven watchmen on a high tower. Acting upon these simple principles, the tendency of Democracy has constantly been to remove power from great central agencies, and to distribute it among the localities which have the best intelligence for its exercise, and the highest personal interest in exercising it judiciously.

"This system not only secures good government for each locality, but it also brings home to each individual a sense of his rights and responsibilities; it elevates his character as a man; he is taught self-reliance; he learns that the performance of his duty as a citizen is the best corrective for the evils of society, and is not led to place a vague, unfounded dependence upon legislative wisdom or inspirations. The principle of local and distributed jurisdiction not only makes good government, but it also makes good manhood. Under European governments, but few feel that they can exert any influence upon public morals or affairs; but here, everyone knows that his character and conduct will at least affect the character of the town in which he lives. . . ."

In 1857 three commissioners were appointed by an act of the legislature to select a site for a quarantine institution. Several attempts were made to establish one but without success as the nearby residents set fire to it. A new commission was appointed on January 19, 1859, to adopt an acceptable plan for the quarantine. Its members were Horatio Seymour, John C. Green and ex-Governor Patterson, and their recommendation for a floating hospital was carried out by the purchase of the steamship "Falcon" for that purpose. Yellow fever cases were treated here.¹⁸

¹⁸ Civil List State of N. Y., p. 299.



THE ADMINISTRATION OF HORATIO SEYMOUR AS GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

Much has been written, but not all has been told, concerning the administration of Horatio Seymour as Governor of the State of New York, 1863-1864, and his opposition to the Conscription Act, the enforcement of which resulted in the most serious riots that have ever occurred in the City of New York.

Horatio Seymour was twice Governor of the State of New York. Unanimously placed in nomination in 1850 by the Democratic Party, opposing Washington Hunt, Whig candidate, he was defeated by the small majority of 262; but in 1852, again with unanimous consent, he opposed Mr. Hunt and was elected Governor by 22,596 majority,¹⁹ carrying all his associates with him into office. His administration during the years 1853 and 1854 had at least one difficult situation to cope with, that of the liquor prohibition law which at that time was under public discussion throughout the country. Maine had recently enacted a temperance law, and this was followed by a similar law's being passed by the New York State Legislature in 1854. On March 31, 1854, Governor Seymour transmitted a message to the Senate vetoing the bill. He said:

"The idea pervades the bill, that unusual, numerous, and severe penalties, will secure enforcement; but all experience shows that the undue severity of laws defeats their execution.

"After the excitement which enacted them has passed away, no one feels disposed to enforce them, for no law can be sustained which goes beyond public feeling and sentiment. . . .

"Judicious legislation may correct abuses in the manufacture, sale, or use of intoxicating liquors; but it can do no more.

"All experience shows that temperance, like other virtues, is not produced by law-makers, but by the influences of education, morality, and religion.

" . . . it must not be understood that I am indifferent to the evils of intemperance, or wanting in respect and sympathy for those who are engaged in their suppression. I regard intemperance as a fruitful source of degradation and misery. . . . Men may be persuaded—they cannot be compelled to adopt habits of temperance. . . ." ²⁰

¹⁹ New York Civil List, 1891, p. 207.

²⁰ Croly's Seymour and Blair, 1868, pp. 32-35.



His stand on the prohibition question was largely responsible for his defeat in the election of 1854 when Myron H. Clark, Republican State Senator, was elected Governor by a plurality of only 309 votes.²¹ The Maine law was again passed by the New York State Legislature, and was signed by Governor Clark, but was declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals of the State which sustained the position of Governor Seymour in vetoing the bill.²² His thoughts on the temperance law as well as other questions of the day are ably set forth in Mr. Seymour's speech at Springfield, Mass., on July 4, 1856.²³

As the War of the Rebellion approached, Mr. Seymour, hoping that the conflict might be averted, took the side of compromise rather than that of civil war, saying in his speech at the Democratic Convention in Albany on January 31, 1861, that "the honor of the North demands a conciliatory policy" and "the cry of 'no compromise' is false in morals; it is treason to the spirit of the Constitution. . . ." The objects of the Convention, he said, were to assure the conservative men of the South that they have at least the sympathy of 312,000 electors of New York in their contest and to keep the border states in the Union and thus ultimately restore its integrity; that it was not the time for the exhibition of party spirit but to bury party differences and seek unity of action by agreeing to submit to some tribunal the question of "compromise and conciliation."²⁴

As a leader of the Democratic Party, Governor Seymour, of course, did not favor the election of Abraham Lincoln on November 6, 1860, to the Presidency of the United States; in fact, he said he deplored his election as a great calamity, in common with the majority of the American people,²⁵ but this belief did not deter him from publicity stating in his speech of January 31, 1861, above referred to, that "Mr. Lincoln was made President by a Constitutional vote and is entitled to our loyal and cheerful support and he shall have it." When the War began in 1861, Mr. Seymour was on his way to Lansing, Michigan, and Madison, Wisconsin, and the Democratic members of the legislature, then in session at the latter place, called him into consultation as to the proper course of political action. He counselled the simple duty of loyalty, "obedience to

²¹ New York City Civil List, 1891, p. 208.

²² Croly's Seymour and Blair, 1868, p. 44.

²³ Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour . . . , 1868, pp. 1-21.

²⁴ Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour . . . , 1868, pp. 26, 31.

²⁵ President Lincoln received only 39.91 per cent. of the popular vote at his election in 1860; Douglas, Breckinridge and Bell, other candidates, received a combined total of 2,810,501 votes against 1,866,342 cast for Lincoln.



the laws, respect for the authorities, the Union of the Constitution." He was active in raising one of the first companies of Wisconsin volunteers at Green Bay, the "Oconto River Drivers," and presented them their colors. In his speech at the Democratic Ratification Meeting at Utica, N. Y., October 28, 1861, he expressed his



HORATIO SEYMOUR AS HE APPEARED WHEN FIRST ELECTED GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
(1853-1854).

regret that the war was not averted after all the efforts to do so, and, realizing that it was inevitable, he faced the situation with all the sternness necessary in the support of the Union, saying:

"First, and above all, we are to show obedience to constituted authorities, and devotion and respect for legal and constitutional obligations. . . .



"The President of these United States can rely upon our support, for we have a due sense of loyalty and obedience. We will not weaken his policy, he will not be embarrassed by us, so long as he keeps himself within the limits of his constitutional rights. . . .

"We owe other duties to our Government. We must strengthen its armies, and furnish it with means to conduct this war to a successful issue. The day has gone by for efforts to avert it. . . . Consistency demands that we who strove to avert the war should now strive to make it productive of those ends which we sought to reach by peaceful measures. . . ." ²⁶

Mr. Seymour, on January 23, 1862, addressed the New York State Military Association at Albany, N. Y., with a view to strengthening the military force of the state, and at the conclusion was thanked by Governor Morgan (Republican). This address was published.

On July 14, 1862, a public meeting was held at Utica, N. Y., in response to President Lincoln's appeal of July 2, 1862, to aid the Government in enlisting 300,000 troops, of which New York State was to furnish about 50,000. To this end Mr. Seymour, Chairman of the Committee of Oneida County, addressed the meeting with his usual clarity and forcefulness, and personally subscribed toward a fund to pay additional bounty to the volunteers from Oneida County.

Mr. Seymour's contention that the war was not one for the abolition of slavery nor for the rights of states was directly opposed to the view of Abraham Lincoln, who argued that slavery was the cause of the conflict, and that, without it, rebellion could never have begun and could not continue. Mr. Seymour felt that to make the Southern states accept the abolition of slavery was an invasion of their Constitutional rights, and that state rights were equally sacred with those of the general government. He also believed that the people of the North would not consent that 4,000,000 free negroes should live in their midst; and that the South should not be subjected to all the evils involved in the immediate abolition of slavery.

The fall elections of 1862 found the North disengaged with the reverses in the field during the year and a half that the war had been carried on, and the internal political dissension arising from disputes over the merits of leading generals, arbitrary civil arrests, and other extreme measures as well as costly legislation of Congress,²⁷ which caused greatly reduced majorities in the Republican

²⁶ Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour . . . , 1868, pp. 33-34, 36.

²⁷ Schouler's History of the United States of America, Vol. VI, pp. 274-275.



stronghold states, while New York and New Jersey elected Democratic governors.

In New York the choice again fell upon Horatio Seymour, much against his desire, and he was elected by a majority of 10,752 over General James S. Wadsworth, one of the military advisers of the President. The true state of his mind and ideals at this time is gleaned from a family letter written to his brother-in-law, Ledyard Lincklaen of Cazenovia, N. Y., dated Utica, October 18, 1862, in which he says:

"I regretted my nomination but I shall spare nothing, my time nor my health in my efforts to carry the State. *If we save New York, we save the Union. This I know.* I am hopeful ever."²⁸

This expression of loyalty to the Union is reflected in all of Governor Seymour's acts in supporting the war, as is shown by official documents. What he did oppose was the invasion of Constitutional rights, both of the individual and of the state, and for his many utterances on this subject, and his vigorous protests against corrupt officials, he was greatly maligned in the heat of political campaigns and party differences, even to the confusion of some more modern writers who failed to recognize his devotion to his state and country and to grasp clearly his motives because they did not delve deeply enough into his record.

In his speech at Albany on September 10, 1862, on receiving the nomination of Governor, Mr. Seymour, quoting from the newspapers of the day the dissatisfaction they were voicing over the conduct of the war, and the threatened change of administration in national affairs, set forth the platform of the Democratic Party, saying in part: "We mean with all our powers of mind and person to support the Constitution and uphold the Union; to maintain the laws, to preserve the public faith. We insist upon obedience to laws and respect for constituted authority; we will defend the rights of citizens; we mean that rulers and subjects shall respect the laws; . . . Opposed to the election of Mr. Lincoln, we have loyally sustained him. Differing from the administration as to the course and the conduct of the war, we have cheerfully responded to every demand made upon us. To-day we are putting forth our utmost efforts to reinforce our armies in the field. . . ." Similar expressions of loyalty were always the tenor of Governor Seymour's many addresses. To the statements of his Republican opponents that a vote for Wadsworth was one of loyalty, and every vote for Sey-

²⁸ The New York Historical Society MSS.



mour was one of treason, he replied: "God knows I love my country. . . . I would count my life as nothing, if I could but save the nation's life."²⁹

Again, in his speech of October 22, 1862, he said: "We tender, then, to this Government, no conditional support; we recognize Mr. Lincoln as President of these United States, as the representative of its honor, of its dignity, of its strength; and although I am politically opposed to him, never have I allowed myself to utter against him one disrespectful term, nor will I ever allow myself to do so." It is a striking fact that one finds in all of Governor Seymour's utterances much respect and praise for his deserving opponents in politics, who, while they differed with him, had honest convictions of their political ideals; and he equally denounced all misrepresentations with no uncertain words. It is not surprising, therefore, that we read in his speech at Utica, N. Y., on November 6, 1862, the day of his election to the Governorship, the modest statement that "the victory we have gained is not a partisan triumph. It is won by conservative men heretofore belonging to different organizations. It is a triumph for our country. It embraces in its generous purposes those who have battled against us. . . . It is a source of pride to us that the victory which we have won will prove a blessing to all parties and to our whole country. We shall not retaliate upon those who threatened our persons or invaded our rights. We shall forget words and acts of passion and prejudice long before their authors will forget their own follies or forgive themselves for their assaults on constitutional liberty. . . ."

Governor Seymour's inaugural message on January 7, 1863, was an able presentation of the affairs of the state and nation. It followed closely upon President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, first announced on September 22, 1862, to which Governor Seymour was opposed both as a matter of expediency and because of its unconstitutional power (as he believed) in freeing the slaves in the states in rebellion against the United States. Yet he spoke in moderation against this decree, recognizing that "at this moment the destinies, the honor and the glory of our country hang poised upon the conflict in the battlefield. . . ."³⁰

In support of this Emancipation Proclamation, President Lincoln wrote: "Understand, I raise no objection against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war, I suppose I have a right to take any measure

²⁹ Speech, Brooklyn Academy of Music, Oct. 22, 1862.

³⁰ Rhodes' History of the United States, Vol. 4, p. 168.



which may best subdue the enemy." On September 24, 1862, he declared martial law under which, on September 26, 1862, the Secretary of War established the provost marshal general with head-

EXECUTIVE MANSION

Washington, D. C., July 9th, 1863.

S. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, having taken into consideration the number of volunteers and militia furnished by and from the several States, including the State of New York, and the period of service of said volunteers and militia since the commencement of the present rebellion, in order to equalize the numbers among the Districts of the said States, and having considered and altered for the number already furnished as aforesaid, and the time of their service aforesaid, do hereby assign ~~the Thirteenth~~ ~~Three~~ ~~Hundred and~~ ~~Eighty-Six~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~first~~ ~~proportional~~ ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~quota~~ ~~of~~ ~~troops~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~furnished~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~19th~~ ~~DISTRICT~~ ~~OF~~ ~~THE~~ ~~STATE~~ ~~OF~~ ~~New~~ ~~York~~ ~~under~~ ~~this~~ ~~the~~ ~~first~~ ~~call~~ ~~made~~ ~~by~~ ~~me~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~State~~ ~~of~~ ~~New~~ ~~York~~ ~~under~~ ~~the~~ ~~act~~ ~~approved~~ ~~March~~ ~~3,~~ ~~1863,~~ ~~entitled~~ ~~"An~~ ~~act~~ ~~for~~ ~~enlisting~~ ~~and~~ ~~calling~~ ~~out~~ ~~the~~ ~~National~~ ~~Force,~~ ~~and~~ ~~for~~ ~~other~~ ~~purposes,"~~ ~~and~~ ~~in~~ ~~pursuance~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~act~~ ~~aforesaid,~~ ~~of~~ ~~order~~ ~~that~~ ~~a~~ ~~draft~~ ~~be~~ ~~made~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~said~~ ~~19th~~ ~~DISTRICT~~ ~~OF~~ ~~THE~~ ~~STATE~~ ~~OF~~ ~~New~~ ~~York~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~number~~ ~~of~~ ~~men~~ ~~herein~~ ~~assigned~~ ~~to~~ ~~paid~~ ~~District,~~ ~~and~~ ~~FIFTY~~ ~~PER~~ ~~CENT.~~ ~~IN~~ ~~ADDITION.~~

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this ~~9th~~ ^{10th} day of ~~July~~ ^{July}, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six ^{thirteen} and ~~one~~ ^{and} ~~forty~~ three, and of the independence of the United States, the eighty-eighth

Abraham Lincoln

FIRST CALL FOR TROOPS UNDER THE DRAFT LAW, FOR THE 19TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, STATE OF NEW YORK. SIGNED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND DATED JULY 9, 1863.

(Owned by The New York Historical Society.)

quarters at Washington and branch offices in each state, empowered to arrest deserters and disloyal persons; to inquire into treasonable practises; detect spies and to perform such other duties as might be assigned to them. For their assistance, besides the military force within their respective districts, they were to employ citizens, constables, sheriffs or police officers, when necessary, with the approval of the Secretary of War who would pay the expenses incurred.



There were great differences of opinion concerning these war measures, and Governor Seymour was not the only distinguished citizen who felt that the Constitution was completely overridden in these Presidential actions, for it is interesting to note that the well-known jurist, Benjamin R. Curtis, of the famous Dred Scott case, issued a pamphlet in 1862, entitled "Executive Power," in which he argued that all of these acts were unconstitutional, but expressed such great faith in President Lincoln that he feared "no such present application of this proclamation and these orders" by him and the Secretary of War. While this pamphlet attracted the attention of the President and jurists, it had little effect on public opinion which sustained the anti-slavery policy of Lincoln, enforced by military success. And in the face of Democratic criticism and usurpation of power by the President, the people objected little because of their faith in his honesty.³¹

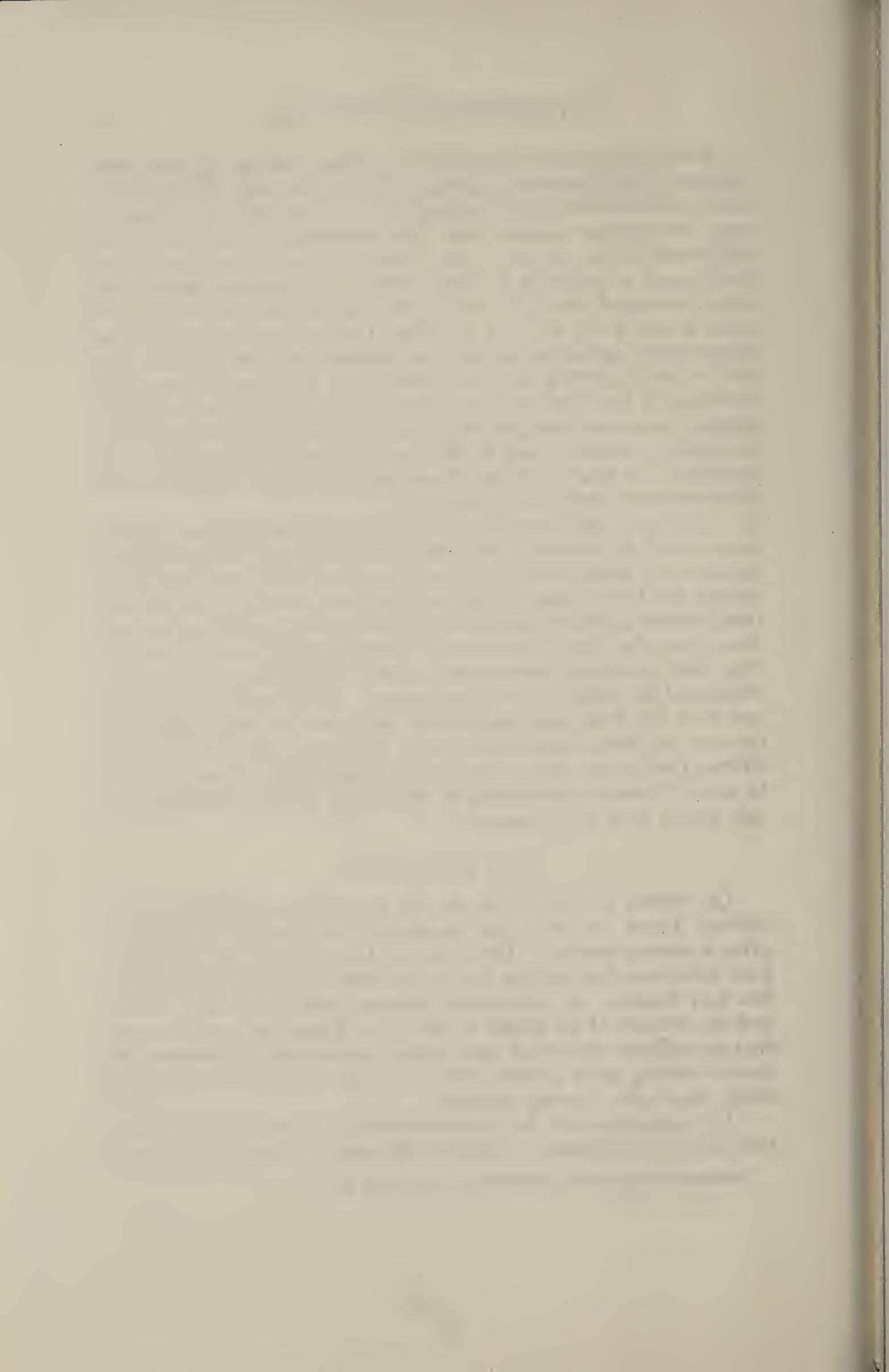
On May 5, 1863, the Hon. Clement L. Vallandingham of Ohio was arrested by order of the military authorities for treasonable utterances and subsequently banished from the North and sent South beyond the Union lines. His case, the most noted of all civil arrests, caused great excitement, and many mass meetings were held throughout the North in protest. To the Albany meeting held on May 16th Governor Seymour sent a letter for which he was roundly denounced by some of the newspapers. His fearless statements and clear mind on this occasion are vindicated in the summary of this case by John Ford Rhodes in his History of the United States written thirty-seven years after the Vallandingham affair, wherein he says: "from the beginning to the end of these proceedings law and justice were set at naught."

THE DRAFT LAW

On March 3, 1863, "An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces and for other purposes" was passed by Congress after a stormy session. This was the Conscription Act or Draft Law which was responsible for the greatest riot which this country has ever known. In considering the responsibility of the officials and the attitude of the people at that time, it must be borne in mind that no military draft had ever before taken place in America, the events leading up to it were very annoying, and the law itself distinctly unpopular in many quarters.

The successive calls for volunteer troops in ever-increasing numbers had, it was claimed, exhausted the supply of men in the North

³¹ Rhodes' History of the United States, Vol. 4, p. 171.



available by that method, and, therefore, made necessary President Lincoln's resorting to the draft. While other states were delinquent in making their quota under the volunteer system, "it is due to New York to say . . . that she had a small surplus instead of a deficiency."³²

The draft law took from the states all authority in military matters, and placed it in the hands of the federal government. It specified that all able-bodied men between the ages of 20 and 45 (married men, 20-35) were subject to the call of the President by draft, and placed the work of recruiting in the hands of the provost marshal general who was to be the head of a bureau in the War Department. Each state was to be divided into districts to be the same as the Congressional Districts, with a provost marshal for each district, a commissioner and a surgeon, and they, in turn, could make as many subdivisions in the district as were found necessary, and were to appoint an enrolling officer for each district to begin making the enrolment immediately. In addition to physical disability, any drafted man could evade serving in the army by substituting a man in his name, or by the payment of three hundred dollars to one of the collectors of internal revenue who would furnish the payer with the requisite certificate for presentation to the Board of Enrolment in the district in which he was drafted.³³

The same month that the enrolment act was passed, President Lincoln addressed the following cordial letter to Governor Seymour (on March 23, 1863):

"You and I are substantially strangers, and I write this chiefly that we may become better acquainted. I, for the time being, am at the head of a nation which is in great peril; and you are at the head of the greatest State of that nation. As to maintaining the nation's life and integrity, I assume and believe there cannot be a difference of purpose between you and me. If we should differ as to the means it is important that such difference should be as small as possible; that it should not be enhanced by unjust suspicions on one side or the other. In the performance of my duty the co-operation of your State, as that of others, is needed,—in fact, is indispensable. This alone is a sufficient reason why I should wish to be at a good understanding with you. Please write me at least as long a letter as this, of course saying in it just what you think fit."

To this Governor Seymour answered under date of April 14, 1863, as follows:

³² New York and the Conscription of 1863, by J. B. Fry, 1885, p. 9.

³³ New York Daily Tribune, July 13, 1863.



"I have delayed answering your letter for some days with a view of preparing a paper in which I wished to state clearly the aspect of public affairs from the standpoint I occupy. I do not claim any superior wisdom, but I am confident the opinions I hold are entertained by one-half of the population of the Northern States. I have been prevented from giving my views in the manner I intended by a pressure of official duties, which at the present stage of the legislative session of this State confines me to the executive chamber until each midnight.

"After the adjournment, which will soon take place, I will give you without reserve my opinions and purposes with regard to the condition of our unhappy country. In the mean while I assure you that no political resentments, or no personal objects, will turn me aside from the pathway I have marked out for myself. I intend to show to those charged with the administration of public affairs a due deference and respect, and to yield them a just and generous support in all measures they may adopt within the scope of their constitutional powers. For the preservation of this Union I am ready to make any sacrifice of interest, passion, or prejudice."

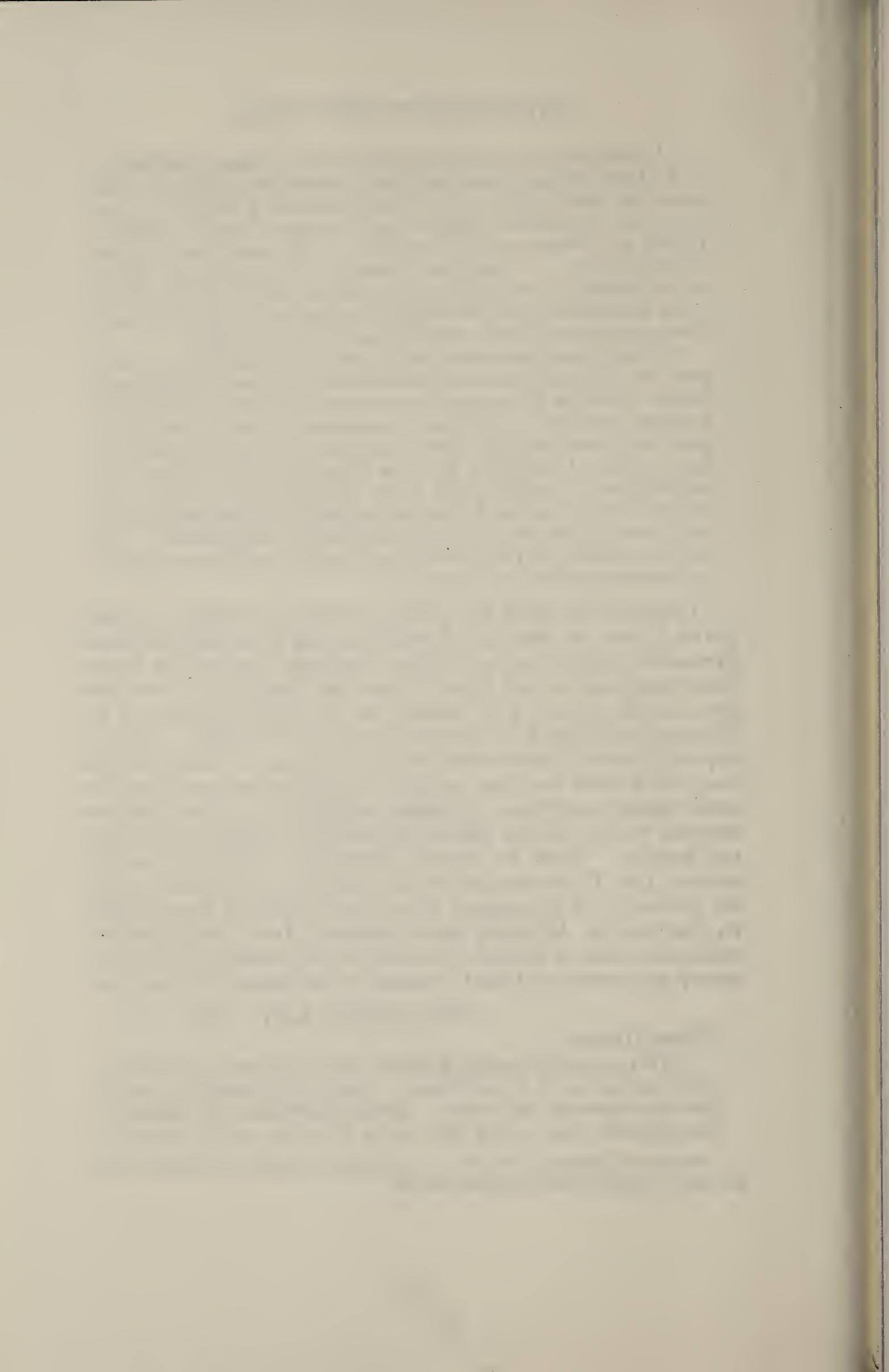
Whatever the cause for Governor Seymour's writing this cold, guarded letter to President Lincoln has not been fully explained. Pressure of official business in those strenuous days and the Republican conspiracy to oust Lincoln from the Presidency³⁴ have been given as the cause. The incident has left bitter criticism of the Governor for his lack of co-operation with the President. Men of opposite political beliefs were not always prone to friendly association, and Lincoln was then criticised as much as any man would be under similar conditions. It cannot truthfully be said of Governor Seymour that he did not wish to serve the best interests of his state and country. When he became Governor in 1863 he sent his brother, John F. Seymour, to see Mr. Lincoln and to convey to him the assurances of all support from New York and from himself. At this time the following letter (extracted from the unpublished manuscript *Life of Horatio Seymour* by his nephew, Horatio Seymour) was written by John F. Seymour to his brother, the Governor.

"WASHINGTON, Jan'y. 19th, 1863.

"*Dear Horatio:*

"This morning General Hallock went with me to the President, taking me up to his library. Senator Trumbull was with him, but soon left the room. General Hallock, after sitting a few minutes, rose, saying that as the President might desire to

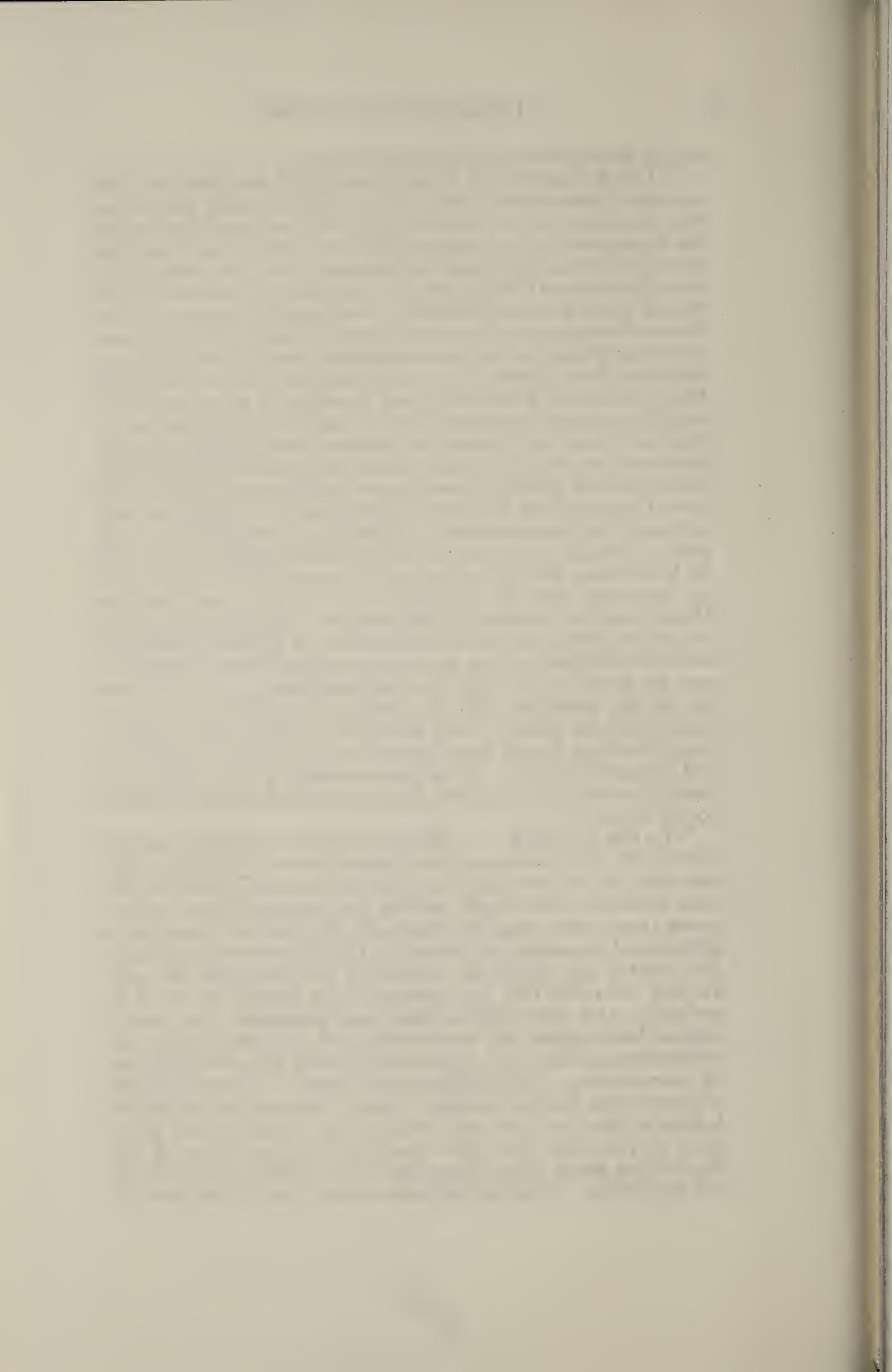
³⁴ Memorial address on the life . . . of Horatio Seymour. By Erastus Brooks, pp. 34-35; Nicolay & Hay's *Abraham Lincoln*.



see me alone, he would also take his leave.

"The President said he had thought of me since my visit ten days prior—that if he could see you he would say to you that his desire was to maintain this Government—that he had the same stake in the country with you; that he had two children and he presumed you had as many; that there could be no next Presidency if the country was broken up—no next President if there was no Presidency; that he was a party man and did not believe in any man who was not; that a party man was generally selfish, yet he had appointed most of the officers of the army from among Democrats because most of the West Point men were Democrats, and he believed a man educated in military affairs was better fitted for military office than an uneducated man, and because anti-slavery men, being generally much akin to peace, had never interested themselves in military matters and in getting up companies, as Democrats had. That when the army was unsuccessful, everyone was dissatisfied and criticised the administration. That if a cartman's horse ran away all the men and women in the streets thought they could do better than the driver, and so it was with the management of the army: that the complaints of his own party gave the Democrats the weapons of their success. That in this contest he saw but three courses to take: one was to fight until the leaders were overthrown; one was to give up the contest altogether, and the other was to negotiate and compromise with the leaders of the rebellion (this he thought impossible so long as Davis had the power); that their lives were in the rebellion; they, therefore, would never consent to anything but separation and acknowledgment. If he was mistaken in this opinion, he would be very glad to know of any fact we might have or hear to the contrary.

"To this I replied . . . that you had no aspirations for the Presidency; that when you were here with me several years ago you said you did not envy the occupant of the White House; that there was too much trouble and responsibility, and no peace there; that you, and those who believed with you, were determined to sustain and maintain this Government and keep the country unbroken, and considered the ballot box the only remedy for evils; that you contended for respect for those in authority, and that while holding him responsible, you would sustain him against any unconstitutional attempts against his administration from any quarter; that these were the doctrines of your message. He said he would read it. I also said that although you did not indulge in loud denunciation of the rebellion as that was not your manner, yet it was a very great grief to you; that you were especially vexed at some of the Republican party who claimed to have a patent right for all the patriotism. That our all was at stake, and if you and the



Democratic party differed with him respecting military arrests, it was with the same view, and that was the benefit of the country."

Governor Seymour also wanted an Adjutant General who was familiar with recruiting and organizing troops in the state, and he suggested to Secretary of War Stanton that he grant a leave of absence to Major John T. Sprague, U.S.A., who was the United States Mustering and Disbursing Officer stationed at Albany, N. Y., so that he might appoint him his chief military officer. This was done at once, and Major Sprague became the Adjutant General of the State of New York, which alone is sufficient evidence to show how keenly Governor Seymour desired the Administration at Washington to know that he was willing to do everything possible to advance the cause of the Union, and that all his actions should be known to the Secretary of War and the President.³⁵

THE ENROLMENT

The enrolment began in New York City on May 25, 1863, in the 4th and 6th Congressional Districts under the orders of Assistant Provost Marshal General Nugent, who expected to have the work completed in all his districts by July 1, 1863. Some disturbances at this time were speedily put down. On May 26, 1863, the Loyal National League State Convention was held at Utica, N. Y. This meeting was attended by many distinguished citizens throughout the state. Among the speakers at that gathering was Gerrit Smith who was perhaps the most ardent abolitionist or anti-slavery man in his day, spending much time and money for the cause. Nevertheless, he said that "he was willing to sacrifice everything to secure the crushing of the Rebellion and would even run the risk of seeing slavery restored to its former strength."³⁶ His views were endorsed by many prominent men of every political faith, including Mr. Henry J. Raymond of the New York Times, and to this extent they were in accord with the principles of Governor Seymour in regarding the preservation of the Union as the paramount issue.

The chief objection to the draft law, aside from any legal aspect, was the provision which exempted any man from serving, if drafted, upon payment of three hundred dollars, or by supplying another man to serve in his stead. That this was a much discussed

³⁵ Letter of Major William Kidd, Veteran of the War and Military Secretary to Governor Seymour, dated Washington, D. C., Feb. 3, 1912, to Mrs. Charles S. Fairchild. Photostat copy in Seymour Collection, The New York Historical Society.

³⁶ N. Y. Daily Tribune, May 27, 1863; New York Times, May 28, 1863.



matter is evidenced by the editorials appearing in the newspapers of the day. The New York Times of May 26, 1863, under the caption "Inequalities of the Conscription," argued in favor of the \$300 exemption clause, as did also the New York Tribune. The objection to the draft law was so general that President Lincoln wrote out his thoughts about it but did not make them public, and it remained for his biographers, Nicolay and Hay, to publish this document for the first time in their "History." In it he set forth his views of the draft, saying of the exemption clause: "Much complaint is made of that provision of the conscription law which allows a drafted man to substitute three hundred dollars for himself; while, as I believe, none is made of that provision which allows him to substitute another man for himself. Nor is the three hundred dollar provision objected to for unconstitutionality; but for inequality, for favoring the rich against the poor." He then relates that the provision for substituting is an old and well-known practice in raising armies, and that there would have been great objection if the provision had been omitted; also that the money provision modified the inequality which the other introduced, for without the three hundred dollar clause, competition among the wealthy would have raised the price of substitutes above that sum, and thereby fewer could have escaped from military service. Therefore, Mr. Lincoln felt that the three hundred dollar clause was an improvement, and that "the inequality could only be perfectly cured by sweeping both provisions away. This being a great innovation, would probably leave the law more distasteful than it now is."³⁷ In the light of present day knowledge that is exactly what should have been done, and it is not unlikely that the riots which followed would have been averted, for whatever the custom of the day may have been, the poorer working man did resent "the inequality" clause which allowed anyone with three hundred dollars to stay at home. At the time of the riot, one of the participants wrote to the New York Times, and the letter was printed in their issue of July 15, 1863, with editorial comment. The writer's attitude was typical of that of the mob, for he said: "You will no doubt be hard on us rioters to-morrow morning but that 300 dollar law has made us nobodies, vagabonds and cast outs of Society, for whom nobody cares when we must go to war and be shot down. We are the poor rabble and the rich rabble is our enemy by this law. Therefore we will give our enemy battle right here and ask no quarter. . . ."

During the first six months of 1863 Governor Seymour did everything in his power to keep up volunteer enlistments in the state

³⁷ Abraham Lincoln, A History, by Nicolay and Hay, Vol. VII, pp. 53-55.



of New York, and in answer to an invitation to come to Washington, he wrote Secretary of War Stanton, on May 20, 1863: "I will visit Washington at an early day. At this time I am confined to the State Capitol by the urgent duties growing out of the Act of the Legislature of New York for encouraging enlistments. Very liberal bounties will be given to those who will engage with the members of my staff in organizing a rigorous system for recruiting which I hope will do away with the necessity for making any draft in New York. When this is accomplished I will see you in Washington."³⁸

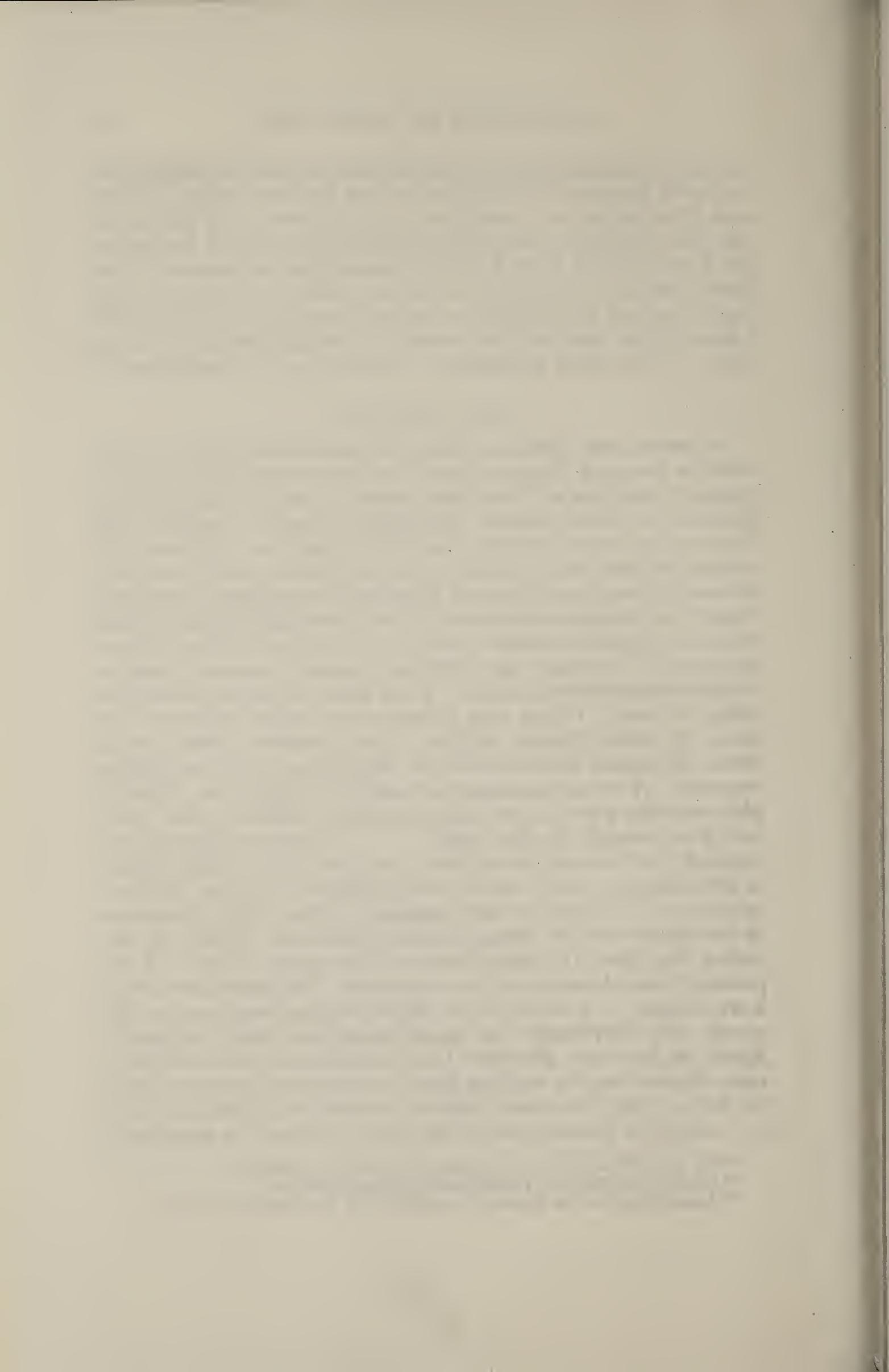
CALLS FOR HELP

A month later (June 14, 1863) Major General John E. Wool wrote to Governor Seymour saying that there was a pressing want of troops in the forts of New York harbor,³⁹ and the following day Secretary of War Stanton telegraphed Governor Seymour that "the movements of the Rebel forces in Virginia are sufficiently developed to show that General Lee with his whole army, is moving forward to invade the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and other States," and requesting to know if New York could furnish 20,000 militia as volunteers without bounty to be credited on the draft of the state.⁴⁰ The same day Governor Seymour responded with a telegram to Secretary Stanton: "I will spare no efforts to send you troops at once. I have sent orders to the militia officers of the State," to which Stanton replied: "The President directs me to return his thanks with those of the Department, for your prompt response. A strong movement of your city regiments to Philadelphia would be a very encouraging movement, will do a great good, and give strength in that state. . . ." Governor Seymour responded that he would order the New York and Brooklyn troops to Philadelphia at once; and to the Republican Governor of Pennsylvania, A. G. Curtin, he sent regiments without delay in response to his urgent calls for troops to defend that state; in fact, the following day, June 16, 1863, Seymour telegraphed Curtin: "I am pushing forward troops as fast as possible. Regiments leave New York tonight." Two days later twelve thousand men were on the march for Harrisburg "in good spirits and well equipped." Again, on June 19th, President Lincoln returned his thanks to Governor Seymour and his staff for their "energetic and prompt action." On July 2, 1863, Governor Seymour ordered his Adjutant General to "send on to Pennsylvania all the troops you can" in response to

³⁸ Ms. Letter Book of Horatio Seymour, New York State Library.

³⁹ Ms. Letter in The New York Historical Society Collections.

⁴⁰ Annual Report of the Adjutant General of New York, 1864, Vol. I, p. 20.



Governor Curtin's urgent request for large forces while the Battle of Gettysburg was in progress.⁴¹ The Adjutant General's report gives specific information concerning the regiments sent to the front at this time, and the dates of their departure, showing a total of 15,798 men sent to Harrisburg from June 15 to July 3, 1863, from the State of New York. On June 27th Secretary Stanton sent the following telegram to Governor Seymour:

"Dear Sir:—I cannot forbear expressing to you the deep obligation I feel for the prompt and candid support you have given to the Government in the present emergency. The energy, activity, and patriotism you have exhibited, I may be permitted personally and officially to acknowledge without arrogating any personal claims on my part in such service, or to any service whatever.

"I shall be happy to be always esteemed your friend."

In the manuscript life of Governor Seymour by his nephew, Horatio Seymour, is the following speech by Governor Curtin, made at Harrisburg to the New York troops sent to relieve Pennsylvania:

"Soldiers of New York:—Pennsylvania had a right to expect that her sister New York would come to her aid, but she did not have the right to expect that New York troops would be here on our soil, occupying the front of her defences, before her own troops were on the ground. From the bottom of my heart, I thank you for this generous alacrity. Bear my personal thanks, as well as the thanks of Pennsylvania, to your patriotic Governor, for the promptness with which, through your presence, he has replied to our need. On some future occasion I will, in some more appropriate and formal manner, make known to him my grateful appreciation of his prompt action in hurrying forward to our aid this noble band of soldierly men. Again I thank you."

The wholehearted, patriotic support of Pennsylvania by Governor Seymour stripped his own state of its military force and he thereupon took steps in co-operation with Mayor Opdyke to raise thirty regiments in New York and Brooklyn for home defense, which was a welcome move.⁴²

THE SECRET DRAFT

At this time it was announced that the enrolment under the draft law was nearly completed and showed that more than one hundred thousand men were subject to military duty in New York

⁴¹ Ms. Letter Book of Horatio Seymour, New York State Library

⁴² New York Daily Tribune, July 2, 1863.



City; also that the platform and bar-room talk about resistance to the law did not materialize, which would soothe a few nervous persons.⁴³ With but 600 men upon whom the city could rely for its safety in case of riot, and these stationed in forts and armories in and about New York to protect ammunition supplies and money, the work of preparing for the commencement of the draft was secretly arranged. The provost marshals convened at General Nugent's office in Leonard Street and received instructions as to the time and manner of carrying out the draft. "The interview was private, and no publicity was given to the proceedings whatever."⁴⁴ The drafted men were to be sent to Riker's Island, the rendezvous of the drafted men from all over the city. It was learned "*upon good authority*" that drafting would begin on Monday, July 13th, and in some districts "*it may* take place to-day or to-morrow." Even Governor Seymour had no definite information as to just when the draft was to begin, and being without troops, could have offered little help at that time had he been advised. An Albany newspaper⁴⁵ on three successive days commented as follows:

"Though the draft has not been ordered by proclamation or any public assignment of quotas made for the states, the provost marshals are going on with the conscription under secret instructions from the War Department. Why is this? Why is there not a public proclamation of the draft and of the quotas of each state? Secrecy implies unfairness; the people want to know that there is fair and equal dealing among the states, and that New York is allotted the deduction promised her when she sent forward her militia regiments for the emergency."

"There is something in the manner in which the Conscription Act has been executed which to us is unintelligible except upon the theory that it has been the intention of the Administration to make it unpopular. There has been no public proclamation or call for men. No quotas have been publicly assigned to the states or districts. The enrollment has been in many cases secret. No opportunity has been given to challenge the accuracy or fairness of the lists, and whether or not the enrolling officers have been partisan. This has left a suspicion of partiality and favoritism. We do not believe any civilized government ever undertook to enforce a law of this importance in such a clandestine and underhanded way; under such liability to the suspicion of fraud and favoritism. . . . It has never before been attempted in this country. . . ."

⁴³ New York Daily Tribune, July 3, 1863.

⁴⁴ N. Y. Daily Tribune, July 10, 1863 (the day before the draft began).

⁴⁵ Atlas Argus, July 13, 14, 15, 1863.

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"That the President has not issued a proclamation ordering up the draft is one of the strangest blunders connected with the war. The very first step taken towards making a draft should be a proclamation from the President announcing that important fact and calling upon the patriotism of the people to respond."

The New York *World* of Saturday, July 11, 1863, in an editorial entitled **A MYSTERIOUS DRAFT**, said:

"The draft, which commences in this city to-day, and which is about to be enforced all over the North, promises to be a very mysterious business. Instead of ordering a general conscription, and publicly apportioning the quotas to the several states, the Administration has privately notified the several district provost marshals, and the draft has been begun without the knowledge or information of the public. We believe this secret way of doing business is common in Russia or Austria, but it is quite new in this free country. So far we have no assurance that it is to be an equal conscription."

ASKS FOR POSTPONEMENT OF DRAFT

It must also be stated that Governor Seymour did not favor the draft, believing that volunteering was the best method for recruiting, and insofar as his state was concerned, all quotas had been filled by volunteers. In the defenceless condition of the city, to begin enforcing so unpopular a law seemed to the Governor to be ill-timed, and with his clear thought sensing the possibility of disturbances, he sent his Adjutant General to Washington to interview President Lincoln to request that the draft be withheld in New York until the troops were returned from Pennsylvania. This occurred on July 11th when the information was conveyed to the Governor that the draft would take place in New York City.⁴⁶ (The press variously stated that the draft would begin on Saturday, Monday and Wednesday, so that no definite date was made public.) But in this Governor Seymour was greatly disappointed, as his Adjutant General returned without accomplishing his mission, for the reason that he had not seen President Lincoln or Secretary Stanton, stating that he had first stopped in the office of General Fry, provost marshal general, and upon informing him of the purpose of his mission, was advised by him not to make such request of either the President or the Secretary of War, as he (Fry) was determined that the draft should not be postponed. Adjutant General Sprague,

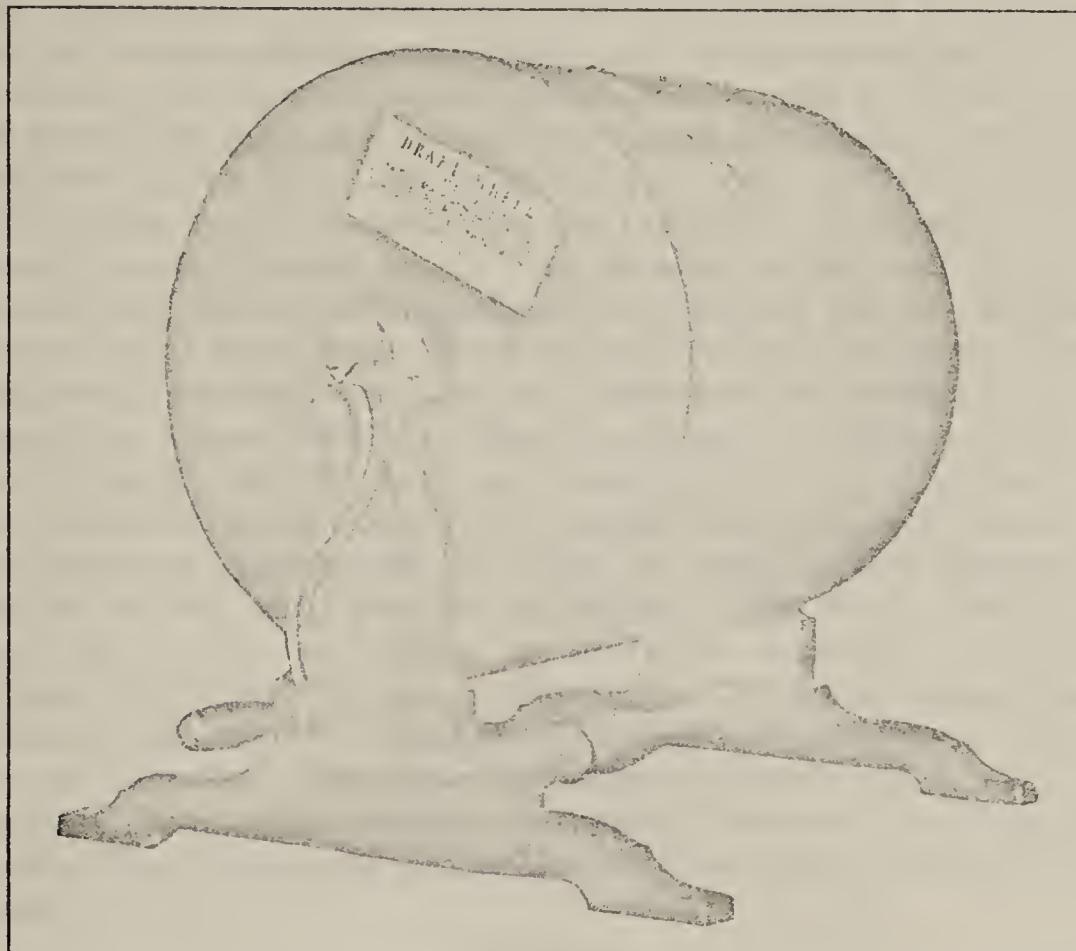
⁴⁶ Annual Report of the Adjutant General, State of New York, 1864, pp. 25-26.



being a Major in the United States Army, said he could not disobey his superior officer.⁴⁷

DRAFT ANNOUNCED

The New York Daily Tribune of July 11, 1863, announced that everything thus far had progressed quietly; that the many stories



DRAFT WHEEL USED JULY 13, 1863, IN THE 7TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, CONTAINING THE NAMES OF THE RESIDENTS OF THE 11TH AND 17TH WARDS, NEW YORK CITY.

(Owned by The New York Historical Society.)

circulated to the effect that bands, gangs and companies had organized with the intention of resisting the draft were unfounded, but that a number of companies had been formed for the purpose of providing substitutes in case the draft should fall upon any of the members of such organizations, through a fund subscribed to by the members paying ten or twenty dollars each as the Society

⁴⁷ Letter of Major William Kidd, Military Secretary to Governor Seymour, dated Albany, N. Y., Jan. 3, 1893, addressed to Mr. Henry S. Miller at Utica, N. Y. Photostat copy in Seymour Collection, The New York Historical Society; original in the New York Public Library. The Adjutant General made this report to the Governor in the presence of Major Kidd and Inspector-General Josiah T. Miller.



might determine. This was to help pay the \$300 of drafted members. It was further stated that the draft in New York City would commence that morning, Saturday, July 11th, in the 22d ward of the 9th Congressional District under the direction of Captain Charles E. Jenkins, provost marshal of the district, the drawing to take place at 9 o'clock at headquarters at 677 Third Avenue. The nine congressional districts were listed with the names of the marshal for each, headquarters addresses and the quotas required. In the ninth, 2,521 men were to be drawn, which, with 50% additional for exemption, made a total of 3,782 names to be called, out of an enrolment of 13,359. In the presence of about 150 persons Captain Jenkins read his orders from the President and his instructions from Provost Marshal Fry. Then the draft wheel containing all the enrolled names was turned and the drawing began. William Jones of 46th Street near Tenth Avenue was the first name called, and caused considerable merriment in the crowd who indulged in such remarks as "Poor Jones!"; "Good for Jones!"; "How are you?" etc. Thus started the draft on Saturday, July 11, 1863, and the day following being Sunday, the people had much time for contemplation and opportunity to discuss the objectionable features of the law, as well as to plan the obstruction to the draft. On Monday, July 13th, at 10 o'clock, the draft was resumed at the same address, 677 Third Avenue at 46th Street. 1,236 names had been drawn on Saturday and these were published in newspapers of Sunday and Monday. The New York Times of Sunday, July 12th, remarked: "Not until yesterday morning did the majority of the citizens of New York really believe that the Government was in earnest about the draft."

THE RIOTS

At 10:30 o'clock on Monday morning, after 75 to 100 additional names had been drawn from the wheel, a pistol shot was heard and the same instant a shower of brickbats, paving stones and other missiles was hurled from the street into the building, followed by the crowd which smashed everything before it, and set fire to the building which was destroyed with the two adjoining structures. The general cry was "Down with the rich men!" and every well-dressed man was attacked by the mob. Such of the soldiers and police as could be spared from guarding important centres were rushed to the scene, but being surrounded by the mob, were disarmed, beaten, and had to retreat, pursued by an infuriated throng.⁴⁸ Many are the accounts of this great riot thus begun

⁴⁸ New York Times, July 12, 1863; New York Daily Tribune, July 14, 1863.



and lasting until the 17th of July, which space does not permit reprinting here. Some of the important episodes may be mentioned such as the destruction of the Colored Orphan Asylum at Fifth Avenue and 46th Street, burned after the children were rescued; the burning of every building where a policeman was seen to take refuge, and of an armory, hotel and block of houses on Broadway, 28th to 29th Streets, which contained enrolment rooms. Telegraph wires were cut, fire bells were not permitted to ring, and the firemen prevented from putting out the fires; railroad tracks were torn up, and private houses sacked. The attitude of the New York Tribune toward the draft was particularly objectionable to the mob, with the result that the Tribune building was made an object of attack by the rioters on the evening of Monday, July 13th, much property being destroyed in the lower part of it, but the prompt and heroic action of the police saved it from total ruin. For four days a scene of carnage and destruction continued in New York City, during which every negro met with by the mob was put to death by shooting, hanging or burning. Several of the police and soldiers were killed, and battles were fought in the narrow, barricaded streets of the city between the police and militia on the sidewalks and the rioters who stationed themselves on the roofs and in the windows of the houses. Twelve hundred persons lost their lives in these riots, and the loss in property amounted to three million dollars, for which claims for damages were brought against the city.⁴⁹

All the enrolment sheets in the various districts were sent under escort to Governor's Island, and only those of Captain Jenkins, in whose office the riot started, were destroyed.⁵⁰

GOV. SEYMOUR TAKES COMMAND

Governor Seymour, following his custom of frequently spending the week-end during the summer at the home of his wife's sister, Mrs. James Neilson, in New Brunswick, N. J., was being driven by his nephew, James Neilson, from New Brunswick to Long Branch on Monday when he was informed that a riot had broken out in New York. Commenting on his absence from the city, the New York World of July 16 said:

"It should be distinctly known that Governor Seymour left this city late on Friday last, (July 10th) after passing a week in sedulous attention to the defences of the harbour, without having received any intimation from the federal authorities of their intention to attempt the execution here of the draft."

⁴⁹ Headley's Great Riots of New York, 1873, p. 270.

⁵⁰ New York Daily Tribune, July 14, 1863.



The information came to him at the railroad station at Old Bridge, N. J., by telegraph from Inspector-General Miller and Brigadier-General Wool, and he immediately left the carriage and returned to New York⁵¹ where he arrived late Monday night, and at noon on Tuesday, July 15th, proceeded to the City Hall, from the steps of which he addressed a large crowd of people numbering 800 or over.⁵² Here it was that Governor Seymour made the now famous "My Friends" speech, in an effort to convince his audience that they should quietly disperse to their homes and abstain from acts of violence, telling them he had sent his Adjutant General to Washington to request that the draft be stopped. For the credited expression, "My Friends," addressed to this audience, much condemnation of Governor Seymour was voiced by newspapers of different political faith, especially the New York Daily Tribune, for his supposed weakness in dealing with the situation in a compromising way, and a caricature showing him addressing an Irish mob, calling them his friends, was circulated. This incident, so often repeated in more modern publications, is materially changed in the accounts left by those who witnessed the gathering and heard the Governor speak. One account is that the crowd "was an orderly, respectable gathering, made up of old and young, merchants, clerks and others who were present in and about the park, particularly about the bulletin boards of the several newspapers in Park Row, and hearing that the Governor was at the City Hall, had gone over to call him out."⁵³ Another listener stated that the Governor addressed the crowd as "Men of New York." In later years to members of his family the Governor said he had no clear recollection of just what his words were in reference to "My Friends" when speaking impromptu on that exciting occasion, but considering the make-up of the gathering which he addressed, he would have had no hesitation in calling them "My Friends." During the same afternoon he spoke to a large number of people in Wall Street, and later addressed the people in the upper part of the city, always in the same tenor and substance—that the legality of the draft should first be decided, and that he would exert himself to make it as equal as possible upon all citizens.⁵⁴ Everywhere his remarks were received with applause.

⁵¹ Statement of Mr. James Neilson (still living) on file in the Seymour Collection, The New York Historical Society; Ms. Vol. of telegrams, New York State Library.

⁵² The New York Times, July 15, 1863. Accounts differ as to whether the Governor arrived on Monday or Tuesday. It was reported in the press of the day as Tuesday, although eye witnesses say it was Monday.

⁵³ Letter of Samuel V. Benedict, Oct. 30, 1896, photostat copy in Seymour Collection, The New York Historical Society; original in the New York Public Library.

⁵⁴ New York Times, July 15, 1863.



The actions of Governor Seymour prove beyond question that his fearless character did not give way on this occasion, but instead, his courage in walking down Broadway from the St. Nicholas Hotel, where he was staying, to the City Hall without a guard, has been commented upon as an act of bravery. Furthermore, before leaving the City Hall, he issued the following proclamations:

“TO THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK:—A riotous demonstration in your city, originating in opposition to the conscription of soldiers for the military service of the United States, has swelled into vast proportions, directing its fury against the property and lives of peaceful citizens. I know that many of those who have participated in these proceedings would not have allowed themselves to be carried to such extremes of violence and of wrong, except under an apprehension of injustice; but such persons are reminded that the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts.

“The right of every citizen to make such an appeal will be maintained, and the decision of the courts must be respected and obeyed by rulers and people alike. No other course is consistent with the maintenance of the laws, the peace and order of the city, and the safety of its inhabitants.

“Riotous proceedings must and shall be put down. The laws of the State must be enforced, its peace and order maintained, and the lives and property of all citizens protected at any and every hazard. The rights of every citizen will be properly guarded and defended by the Chief Magistrate of the State.

“I do therefore call upon all persons engaged in these riotous proceedings to retire to their homes and employments, declaring to them that unless they do so at once I shall use all the power necessary to restore the peace and order of the city. I also call upon all well-disposed persons, not enrolled for the preservation of order, to pursue their ordinary avocations.

“Let all citizens stand firmly by the constitutional authorities, sustaining law and order in the city, and ready to answer any such demand as circumstances may render necessary for me to make upon their services; and they may rely upon a rigid enforcement of the laws of this State against all who violate them.”

HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor.

New York, July 14, 1863.

“Whereas, it is manifest that combinations for forcible resistance to the laws of the State of New York, and the execution of civil and criminal process, exist in the city and county



of New York, whereby the peace and safety of the city, and the lives and property of its inhabitants are endangered; and

"Whereas, the power of the said city and county has been exerted, and is not sufficient to enable the officers of the said city and county to maintain the laws of the State and execute the legal process of its officers, and

"Whereas, application has been made to me by the Sheriff of the city and county of New York to declare the said city and county to be in a state of insurrection; now, therefore,

"I, Horatio Seymour, Governor of the State of New York, and Commander-in-chief of the forces of the same, do in its name and by its authority, issue this proclamation in accordance with the statute in such cases made and provided, and do hereby declare the city and county of New York to be in a state of insurrection, and give notice to all persons that the means provided by the laws of this State for the maintenance of law and order will be employed to whatever degree may be necessary, and that all persons who shall, after the publication of this proclamation, resist, or aid or assist in resisting, any force ordered out by the Governor to quell or suppress such insurrection, will render themselves liable to the penalties prescribed by law."

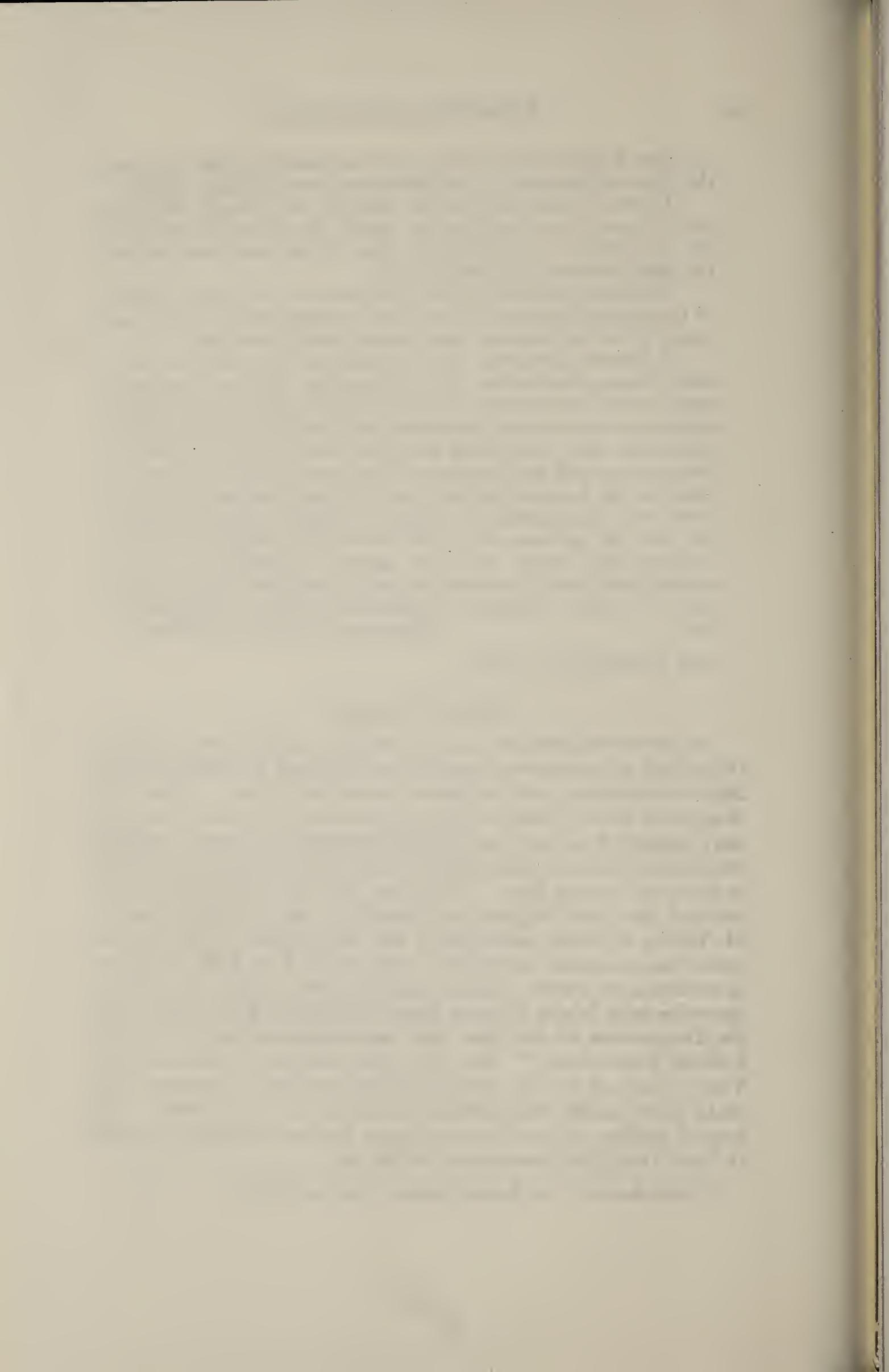
HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor.

New York, July 14, 1863.

OTHER MEASURES

A conference with the city and military officials was held, and the subject of proclaiming martial law discussed, to which Governor Seymour objected until all other means had failed. Places were designated where citizens wishing to volunteer to preserve the peace were requested to meet, and a handbill by the Governor's authority was issued listing six places with the names of the military authorities in command at each place. The same day, July 14th, the Governor ordered the 70th Regiment of Brooklyn, and the 25th Regiment of Albany, to report immediately for duty in New York City, and other forces outside of the city were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march. These activities were carried on in full co-operation with Major General John E. Wool, U.S.A., commanding the Department of the East, who was authorized to do so by the Federal Government.⁵⁵ But the regiments in the state of New York outside of the city, which had not been sent to Pennsylvania, could ill be spared since rioting had begun in other towns. This became evident when telegrams began coming in to the Governor at New York City from many points, viz.:

⁵⁵ Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour, 1868, pp. 129-130.



IMPENDING RIOTS OUTSIDE THE CITY

Albany, N. Y., July 14, 1863.

There is trouble in Buffalo. I have directed General Randall to distribute arms to two independent companies there and put the arsenal in their charge.

J. B. STONEHOUSE, A. A. A. G.

Albany, N. Y., July 14, 1863

Drafting in Troy to-day and trouble imminent. The Marshal has so telegraphed to Major Townsend. Shall I send troops from here.

July 17, 1863.

Riot impending at Newburgh,—500 muskets wanted.

July 18, 1863

Buffalo wants 74th Regiment immediately.

July 18, 1863

Sing Sing wants two guns and men to work them, also 200 muskets.

July 25, 1863

Canandaigua apprehensive of riots . . .⁵⁶

In Boston, Mass., Mayor Lincoln issued a broadside on July 15, 1863, to the citizens of Boston stating that "the peace and good order" had been violated by an assembly of rioters, and that further violence was threatened, and calling upon all good citizens to assist in suppressing it.⁵⁷ Riots were also feared in New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and elsewhere, according to the press of the day which records various disorders.

With these threatened disturbances in view, Governor Seymour on July 16th telegraphed to the Secretary of War at Washington, as follows:

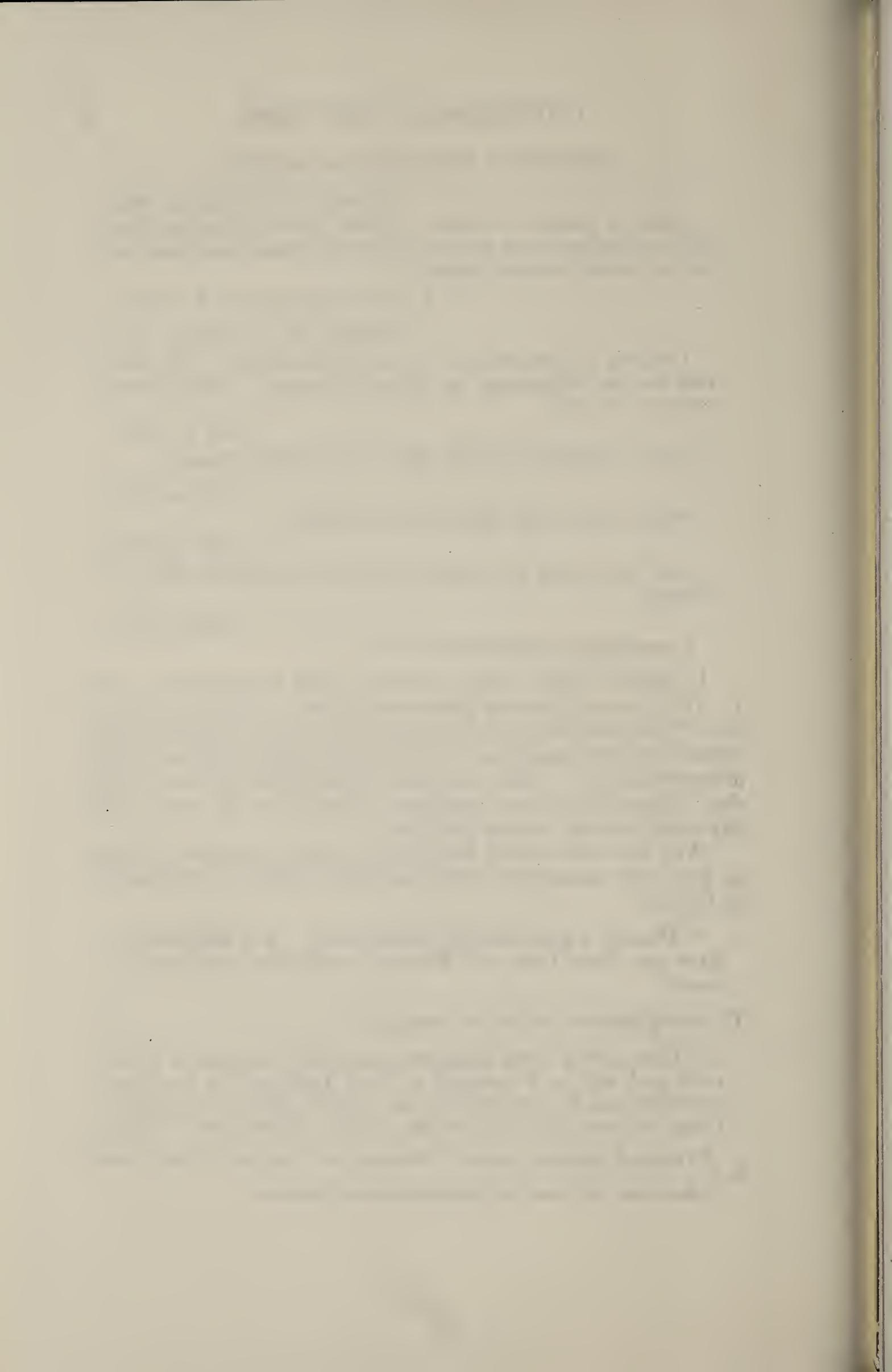
"There is a great deal of disorder here. It is important to have the New York and Brooklyn regiments sent home at once."

To which Stanton replied the same day:

"Eleven New York Regiments are relieved and are at Frederick and will be forwarded to New York as fast as transportation can be furnished them. Please signify to me anything you may desire to be done by the department. What-

⁵⁶ Volume of telegrams, Seymour Collection, New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.

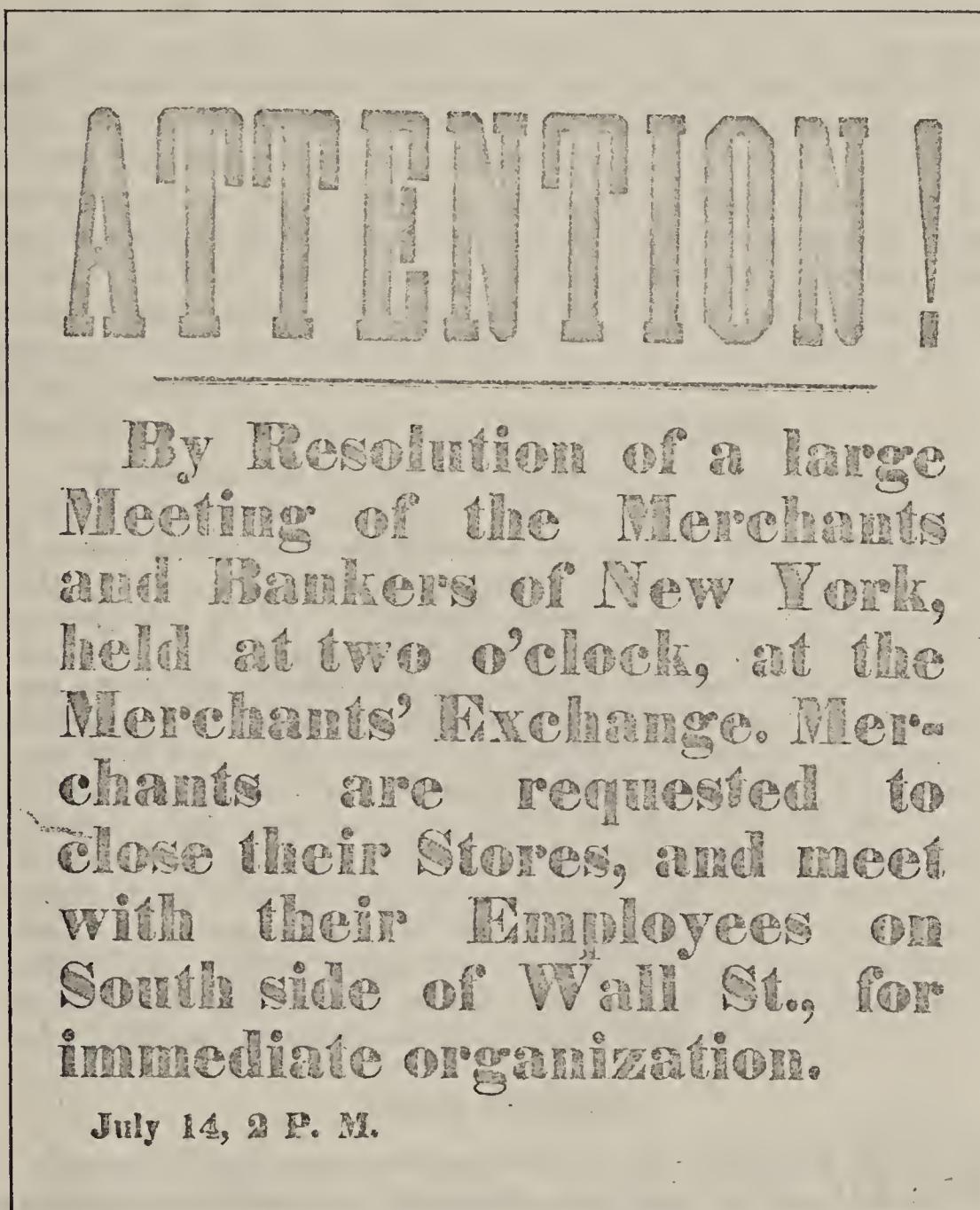
⁵⁷ Broadside, The New York Historical Society Collections.



ever means are at its disposal shall be at your command for the purpose of restoring order in New York."⁵⁸

THE PRESS

The Daily News, The World, The Saturday Review and the Journal of Commerce of New York all opposed the draft and wrote strong editorials against it, and these were reprinted in the New



BROADSIDE ISSUED IN NEW YORK CITY, JULY 14, 1863.

(Owned by The New York Historical Society.)

⁵⁸ Volume of telegrams, Seymour Collection, New York State Library.



York Tribune of Wednesday, July 15, 1863, under the heading "The Torch that Lit the Flame—The Copperhead Press of Monday"; and it further suggested, under the caption "A General Wanted," that General Wool be replaced and the Federal Government step in and take command.

RIOTS SUPPRESSED

While the riots had stopped the draft, Secretary Stanton on July 15th ordered a temporary suspension of it. The riots were quelled after four days of strenuous effort to the great credit of the police and the limited number of troops available with the assistance of the citizens' volunteer organizations. Governor Seymour's prompt measures in co-operation with Mayor Opdyke and the military authorities effectively suppressed the uprising before the return of the New York Militia from the front, but the arrival of these troops brought quiet and reassurance to the city, and the volunteer organizations were relieved of duty on July 20th, with the thanks of the Governor.

Speaking in 1868 Major Gen. John J. Peck Said:

"When the riot in New York occurred I was in the army and passing through the city. On hearing the state of things, I at once hastened to report to the Governor at the St. Nicholas. He accepted my proffer of service. By his invitation I accompanied him on foot to several points and to the police headquarters, without any escort of soldiers or police. I was present when Gen. Canby reported to him; saw the Mayor, Senator Morgan, Mr. Tilden, and many of the first citizens in consultation with him. He showed no timidity, or want of confidence in that fearful crisis. Mayor Opdyke, more than any other official, might have taken exception to the policy of the Governor, if any grounds existed. Read his testimony in the reports of the Constitutional Convention. An extract must suffice: 'He never yielded to their bad counsels; but to the end stood firm. Everything it was possible for him to do was done to aid in the suppression of the riots.' The highest testimony of a political opponent disposes of that black calumny."⁵⁹

DRAFT RESUMED

General Wool was now deprived of his command in the Department of the East, and Major General John A. Dix, U.S.A., was appointed his successor. On July 30, 1863, the latter wrote Gov-

⁵⁹ Speech of Major General John J. Peck, at Shakspeare Hall, Oct. 24, 1868, from Syracuse Courier, Oct. 24, 1868.



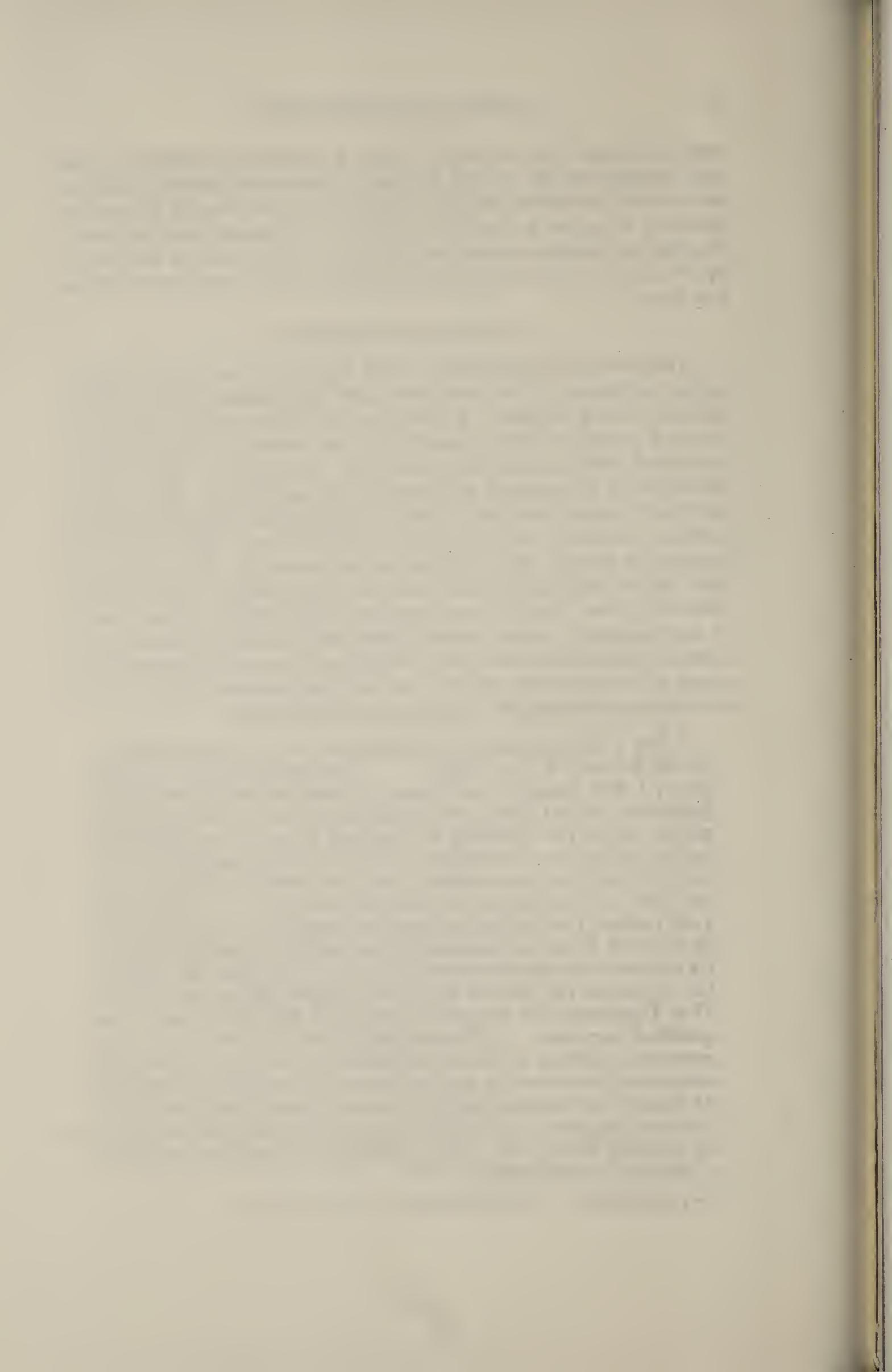
ernor Seymour that the draft would probably be resumed in the city shortly, and he desired to know if the state militia could be relied upon to enforce the law, hoping that there would be perfect harmony of action between the Federal Government and the state. To this the Governor replied on August 3, 1863,⁶⁰ that he had taken up the matter of the draft with President Lincoln and would advise him later.

DISCUSSES THE QUOTAS

The letter to the President, dated August 3d, was a very lengthy one in reference to the riots, draft law and quotas of the various districts, saying in part: "I know you will agree with me that justice and prudence alike demand that this lottery for life shall be conducted with the utmost fairness and openness, so that all may know that it is impartial and equal in its operation." He further said that in many districts in New York State the enrolled lists were publicly exhibited, but that unfortunately this was not done in the districts of the city and "the excitement caused by this unexpected draft led to an unjustifiable attack upon the enrolling officers, which ultimately grew into the most destructive riot known in the history of our country." After relating that the Federal Government was unable to protect its own forts, arsenals and navy-yards against any attack of rebel vessels which were burning merchant ships at that time almost within sight of our coasts, he continues:

"For a time these very fortifications were the chief danger to the harbor of New York. . . . At the time this riot took place, I was engaged with Senator Morgan and Comptroller Robinson, of this State, on the subject of harbor defences and placed under the direction of General Wool the unorganized bodies of National volunteers still under my command, and I ordered bodies of the military from the interior of New York into the fortifications, to be under his control, . . . but on the 12th instant, the day before the riot broke out, I was requested by General Wool to countermand my orders directing the militia to proceed to the harbor of New York" because the rules of the service or the laws of the United States did not permit the War Department to accept the service of troops for special or qualified purposes. "The inability of the Government at that moment to defend its forts and public property, or to give any substantial assistance in putting down a riot, while the militia of the city were supporting the National cause in another field" is shown in a letter to Governor Seymour dated June 30, 1863, by General Wool, who, after reciting the defenseless condition of the city at some length, said:

⁶⁰ Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour, 1868, pp. 148-155.



"I have done all in my power to guard against the present condition of the city; but I have so far been unsuccessful."

Continuing, the Governor pointed out that the quotas demanded from New York and Kings County "are glaringly unjust," and requested President Lincoln to direct the enrolling officers to submit their lists to state authorities, and that an opportunity be given the Governor to look into the fairness of the proceedings. "In the meanwhile, large numbers are availing themselves of the bounties offered by the State and National Governments, and are voluntarily enlisting, . . . I ask that the draft may be suspended in this State, as has been done elsewhere, until we shall learn the results of recruiting, which is now actively going on throughout the State, and particularly in the City of New York. I am advised that large numbers are now volunteering. . . . It is but just that the delinquent States should make up their deficiency before New York, which has so freely and generously responded to the calls of the Government, shall be refused the opportunity to continue its voluntary support of the Armies of the Union." The Governor also proposed that the constitutionality of the conscription law be tested in court.

The statement of population, draft numbers and votes enclosed with this letter is as follows:

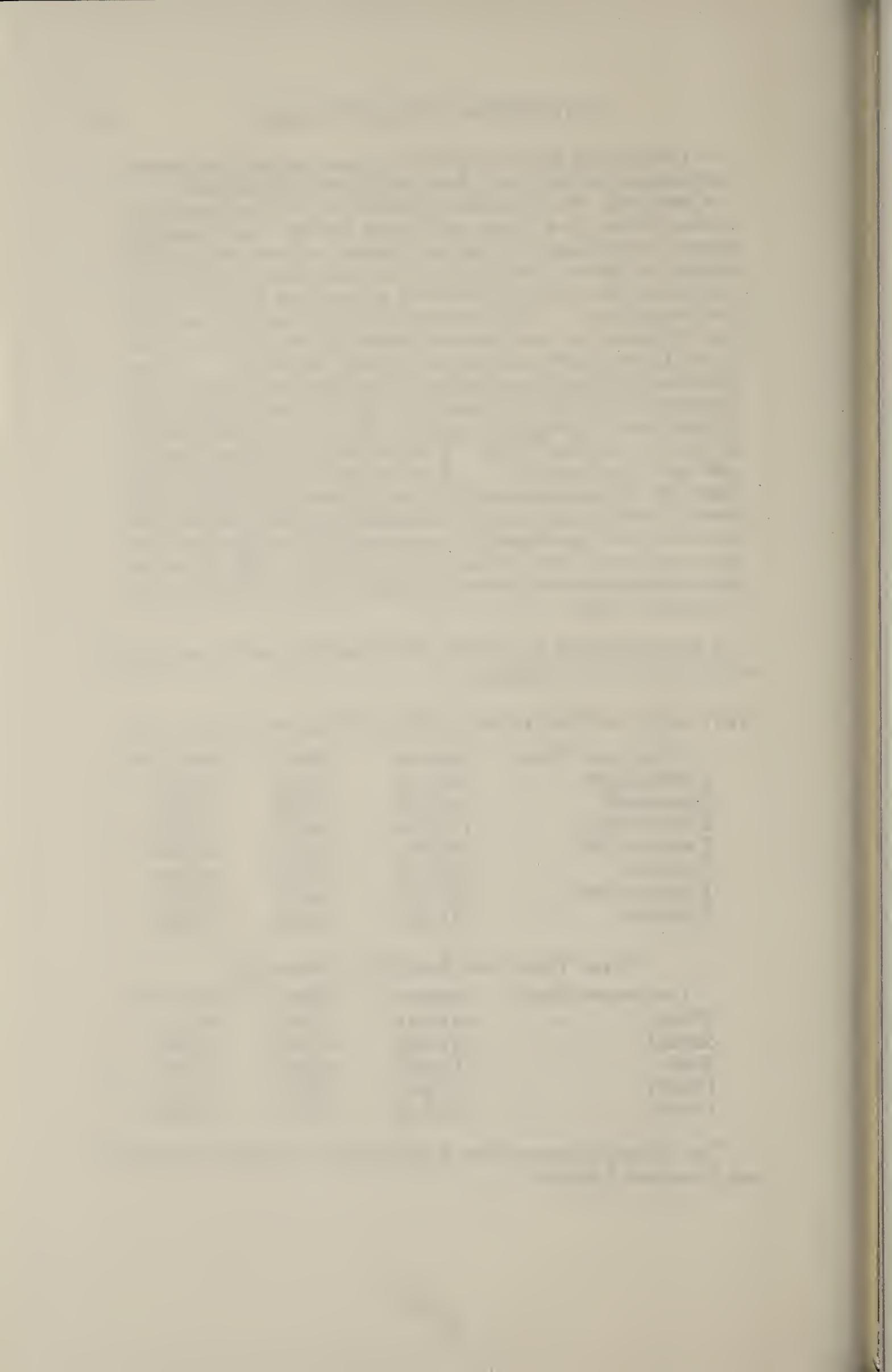
STATEMENT OF POPULATION, DRAFT NUMBERS, VOTERS, ETC.

Congressional District	Population	Draft	Vote of 1862
Twenty-ninth	114,556	1,767	20,097
Seventeenth	114,526	1,838	17,882
Twenty-third	116,980	2,088	22,535
Twenty-eighth	129,365	2,015	21,026
Fifteenth	132,232	2,260	23,165
Twenty-seventh	135,488	2,416	25,601
Thirtieth	141,971	2,539	21,385

NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN DISTRICTS

Congressional District	Population	Draft	Vote of 1862
Third	132,242	2,697	16,421
Second	151,951	4,146	15,967
Sixth	117,148	4,538	12,777
Eighth	175,998	4,892	15,195
Fourth	131,854	5,881	12,363

The following letters then passed between Governor Seymour and President Lincoln:



EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 7

HIS EXCELLENCY, HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y.:—Your communication of the 3d instant has been received and attentively considered. I cannot consent to suspend the draft in New York, as you request, because, among other reasons, time is too important. By the figures you send, which I presume are correct, the twelve districts represented fall in two classes of eight and four respectively.

The disparity of the quotas for the draft in these two classes is certainly very striking, being the difference between an average of 2,200 in one class and 4,864 in the other. Assuming that the districts are equal one to another in entire population, as required by the plan on which they were made, this disparity is such as to require attention. Much of it, however, I suppose will be accounted for by the fact that so many more persons fit for soldiers are in the city than are in the country, who have too recently arrived from other parts of the United States and from Europe, to be either included in the census of 1860, or to have voted in 1862. Still, making due allowance for this, I am yet unwilling to stand upon it as an entirely sufficient explanation of the great disparity. I shall direct the draft to proceed in all the districts, drawing, however, at first from each of the four districts, to wit: Second, Fourth, Sixth, and Eighth, only 2,200, being the average quota of the other class. After this drawing these four districts, and also the Seventeenth and Twenty-ninth, shall be carefully re-enrolled, and, if you please, agents of yours may witness every step of the process. Any deficiency which may appear by the new enrolment will be supplied by a special draft for that object, allowing due credit for volunteers who may be obtained from these districts respectively during the interval; and at all points, so far as consistent with practical convenience, due credits shall be given for volunteers, and your Excellency shall be notified of the time fixed for commencing a draft in each district.

I do not object to abide a decision of the United States Supreme Court, or of the judges thereof, on the constitutionality of the draft law. In fact I should be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it. But I cannot consent to lose the time while it is being obtained. We are contending with an enemy who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers already in the field, if they should not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with rapidity



not to be matched on our side if we waste time to re-experiment with the volunteer system, already deemed by Congress, and probably, in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time to obtain a court decision as to whether a law is constitutional, which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go. My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN

ALBANY, August 8, 1863.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:—I received your communication of the 7th instant this day. While I recognize the concessions you make, I regret your refusal to comply with my request to have the draft in this State suspended until it can be ascertained if the enrolments are made in accordance with the law of Congress, or with the principles of justice. I know that our army needs recruits, and for this and other reasons I regret a decision which stands in the way of a prompt and cheerful movement to fill up the thinned ranks of our regiments. New York has never paused in its efforts to send volunteers to the assistance of our gallant soldiers in the field. It has not only met every call heretofore made, while every other Atlantic and the New England States, except Rhode Island, were delinquent, but it continued liberal bounties to volunteers when all efforts were suspended in many other quarters. Active exertions are now made to organize the new and fill up the old regiments. These exertions would be more successful if the draft were suspended, and much better men than reluctant conscripts would join our armies.

On the 7th inst. I advised you, by letter, that I would furnish the strongest proof of the injustice, if not fraud, in the enrolment in certain districts; I now send you a full report made to me by Judge-Advocate Waterbury. I am confident when you have read it that you will agree with me that the honor of the nation and of your Administration demands that the abuses it points out should be corrected and punished. You say we are contending with an enemy who, as you understand, "drives every able-bodied man he can reach into the ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen." You will agree with me that even this, if impartially done to all classes, is more tolerable than any scheme which shall fraudulently



force a portion of the community into military service by a dishonest perversion of the law. You will see by the report of Mr. Waterbury, that there is no theory which can explain or justify the enrolment in this State. I wish to call your attention to the Tables on pages 5, 6, 7 and 8, which show that, in nine Congressional districts in Manhattan, Long, and Staten Islands, the number of conscripts called for is thirty-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, while in nineteen other districts the number of conscripts called for was only thirty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-six.

This draft is to be made from the first class—those between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. It appears by the census of 1860, that in the first nine Congressional districts there were 164,797 males between twenty and thirty-five; they are called upon for 33,729 conscripts. In the other nineteen districts, with a population of males between twenty and thirty-five, of 270,786, only 39,626 are demanded.

Again, to show the partisan character of the enrolment, you will find on the twenty-first page of the military report, that in the first nine Congressional districts the total vote of 1860 was 151,243. The number of conscripts now demanded is 33,729. In the nineteen other districts the total vote was 457,257. Yet these districts are called upon to furnish only 39,626 drafted men. Each of the nine districts gave majorities in favor of one political party, and each of the nineteen districts gave majorities in favor of the other party.

You cannot and will not fail to right these gross wrongs.

Yours truly,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

To General Dix, Governor Seymour sent the following letter:

Friday, August 7, 1863.

Dear Sir:

In the course of to-morrow I shall be able to send to you and to the President full evidence of the gross injustice, if not corruption, of some of the enrolments in this State. If I should give way to a natural sense of indignation at the constant falsehood uttered against me by my political opponents, I should silently allow these indecent plans to be carried out. If this is done it must excite the indignation of any fair and respectable citizen. But this is a matter that concerns the honor of our country and I shall put forth every effort to save the Administration from bringing disgrace upon itself and upon our system of Government. I also feel that much is due to yourself and others in your situation if constrained by military orders on the one hand and repelled by an abhorrence of schemes of injustice



and fraud on the other. I think I have discovered the process by which the frauds have been perpetrated. I will write you again to-morrow.

Truly yours,

HORATIO SEYMOUR

To Gov. Jno. A. Dix.⁶¹

The report of Judge Advocate-General Nelson J. Waterbury referred to in Governor Seymour's letter was printed in 1863. It is dated August 7, 1863, and points out that the first nine Congressional Districts comprising Suffolk, Queens, Richmond, Brooklyn, and Kings Counties with the 22 wards of the city of New York, had an enrolment of 175,430, from which 33,729 conscripts were required, while the balance of the Congressional Districts of the state (12 to 31 except the 10th, 11th and 14th not yet completed) had an enrolment of 211,445, from which 39,626 conscripts were required. It will be seen at a glance, says this report, that the burden of the conscription under the nine metropolitan districts is nearly equal to that upon the other nineteen districts. Other comparative tables printed in this report show that in districts carried by President Lincoln in 1860, the total vote was 457,257, from which 39,626 conscripts were required, and in the anti-Lincoln districts, with a vote of 151,243, the conscripts were 33,729. In the election of 1862, the Seymour districts, with a vote of 186,255, called for 40,287 conscripts, and the districts carried by Wadsworth, Republican candidate, with a vote of 353,621, called for only 33,068 conscripts. All this gave rise to the cry that the Democrats of New York City were being punished with the draft law by the unequal call for men in the quotas of the respective districts.

Having now learned that the President would not delay the draft, Governor Seymour wrote to General Dix on August 15, 1863, that he would allow no violation of good order, no riotous proceedings, no disturbances of the public peace, and that all executives of the state would perform their duties vigorously and thoroughly, and, if need be, the military would be called into action. On August 18, 1863, the Governor issued a proclamation counselling submission to the draft, in which he said: "Riotous proceedings must and shall be put down . . . and the lives and property of citizens protected at any and every hazard."⁶²

VOLUNTEERS VS. DRAFTED MEN

The draft was resumed on August 19, 1863, without further trouble, but the question of crediting volunteers against the quota

⁶¹ Letter Book of Horatio Seymour, Seymour Collection, New York State Library.

⁶² Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour, 1863, pp. 143-147.

to be drafted was in dispute. Governor Seymour sent his Assistant Adjutant General, J. B. Stonhouse, to Washington, and the following telegrams tell their own story:

1863, August 18th, to Governor Seymour.

No draft in Syracuse. Quota filled.

D. BOOKSTAYER, Mayor



GOV. HORATIO SEYMOUR IN 1868, WHEN A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.



1863, August 25th, to Governor Seymour from Washington,
D. C.

Colonel Fry is opposed to any concessions being made. He even refuses to accept the volunteers mustered in the City of Syracuse in place of drafted men.

J. B. STONEHOUSE.

1863, August 25th, to Governor Seymour from Washington,
D. C.

I cannot as yet persuade Colonel Fry to modify the rules laid down by him in relation to crediting volunteers on the present draft. I shall see the President with him this morning and will telegraph the result of the interview.

J. B. STONEHOUSE

The result of the interview with President Lincoln is seen in the following telegram:

1863, August 27th, to Governor Seymour from Washington,
D. C.

All volunteers mustered in will be credited on the present draft up to the last day before the drawing commences. Mustered officers are to report by telegraph daily the number mustered in by them. You are to be notified by telegraph the day on which the draft is to commence. It is important that company organizations be perfected at once. I bring orders with me to-morrow.

J. B. STONEHOUSE⁶³

From then on for several months numerous telegrams are on record notifying Governor Seymour of the commencement of the draft in the several sections of the state.

COMMISSION APPOINTED

On October 17, 1863, the President called for 300,000 volunteers, and ordered that a draft be made for all deficiencies which might exist on January 5, 1864. In response to further protest by Governor Seymour, the Secretary of War appointed a special commission by order of the President, dated December 5, 1863, "to revise the enrolment and quotas of the City and State of New York and report whether there be any and what errors and irregularities therein and what corrections, if any, should be made." At the same time the Governor issued a proclamation on October 20, 1863, and

⁶³ Volume of telegrams, Seymour Collection, New York State Library.

a circular dated December 7, 1863, urging volunteering to avoid a draft.⁶⁴

The Commission, consisting of William F. Allen of New York, John Love of Indiana and Chauncey Smith of Massachusetts, made their report to Secretary Stanton on February 16, 1864. From numerous telegrams on file in the Seymour Collection in the State Library at Albany, N. Y., it appears that Assistant Adjutant-General Stonehouse was in Washington from February 22 to 29, 1864, trying to induce Colonel Fry and Secretary Stanton to give him an official copy of the Commission's report on quotas, but was unable to secure it. Finally President Lincoln was appealed to, and on February 29th Stonehouse telegraphed that the quota would be reduced thirteen or fourteen thousand, as recommended by the Commission. The report of this Commission was printed and submitted by Governor Seymour to the legislature of New York on March 1, 1864. It contains the following statement: "In conclusion, the Commissioners are of opinion, and so report, that the quota assigned to the State of New York and the quotas of the . . . Cities of New York and Brooklyn are erroneous and excessive and should be reduced." The report also acquitted the enrolling officers of unfairness.

Writing from Washington on March 2, 1864, D. A. Ogden reported to Governor Seymour the reduction of over 13,200 in the quota for the first ten congressional districts, saying that it "must be not only gratifying to yourself personally as it fully confirms your views, but must be satisfactory to the State at large."⁶⁵ The Board of Supervisors of the City of New York on March 8, 1864, passed a resolution thanking Governor Seymour for his successful efforts in having the quota reduced, thereby saving \$2,000,000 to the county. The Republican State Legislature on April 16, 1864, took similar action.

FURTHER CALL FOR TROOPS

A third call on July 18, 1864, for 500,000 men was made by the President, and Governor Seymour felt it his duty again to call attention to the enrolment of the state, especially to that of New York and Brooklyn, asking that errors be corrected, and that the quotas conform to those in other parts of the country. Secretary Stanton, in his final reply to the Governor, said: "Every facility will be afforded by this department to correct any error or mistake

⁶⁴ Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour, 1868, p. 372.

⁶⁵ Seymour Collection, New York State Library.



that may appear in the enrolment, and no effort will be spared to do justice to the Cities of New York and Brooklyn, and apply the law with equality and fairness to every district and in every State." ⁶⁶

That New York fulfilled Governor Seymour's expectations is evidenced by the following letter:

COUNTY VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE
New York, September 28, 1864

To His EXCELLENCY HORATIO SEYMOUR,
Governor State of New York:—

Sir—I have this day obtained from Brigadier-General William Hays, Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal of this District, a certificate, showing that the quota of New York, under all calls, is full.

In view of the efforts made by you in our behalf, especially in the controversy relative to the reduction of the enrolment of 1864, and the quota under the last call, I deem it incumbent on me to express to you, at this time, our sense of our obligation to you.

So much is due to your assistance in seconding our exertions to avert the threatened evil of the draft, that it seems but meet that this acknowledgment should be made.

I have the honor to subscribe myself your very obedient servant,

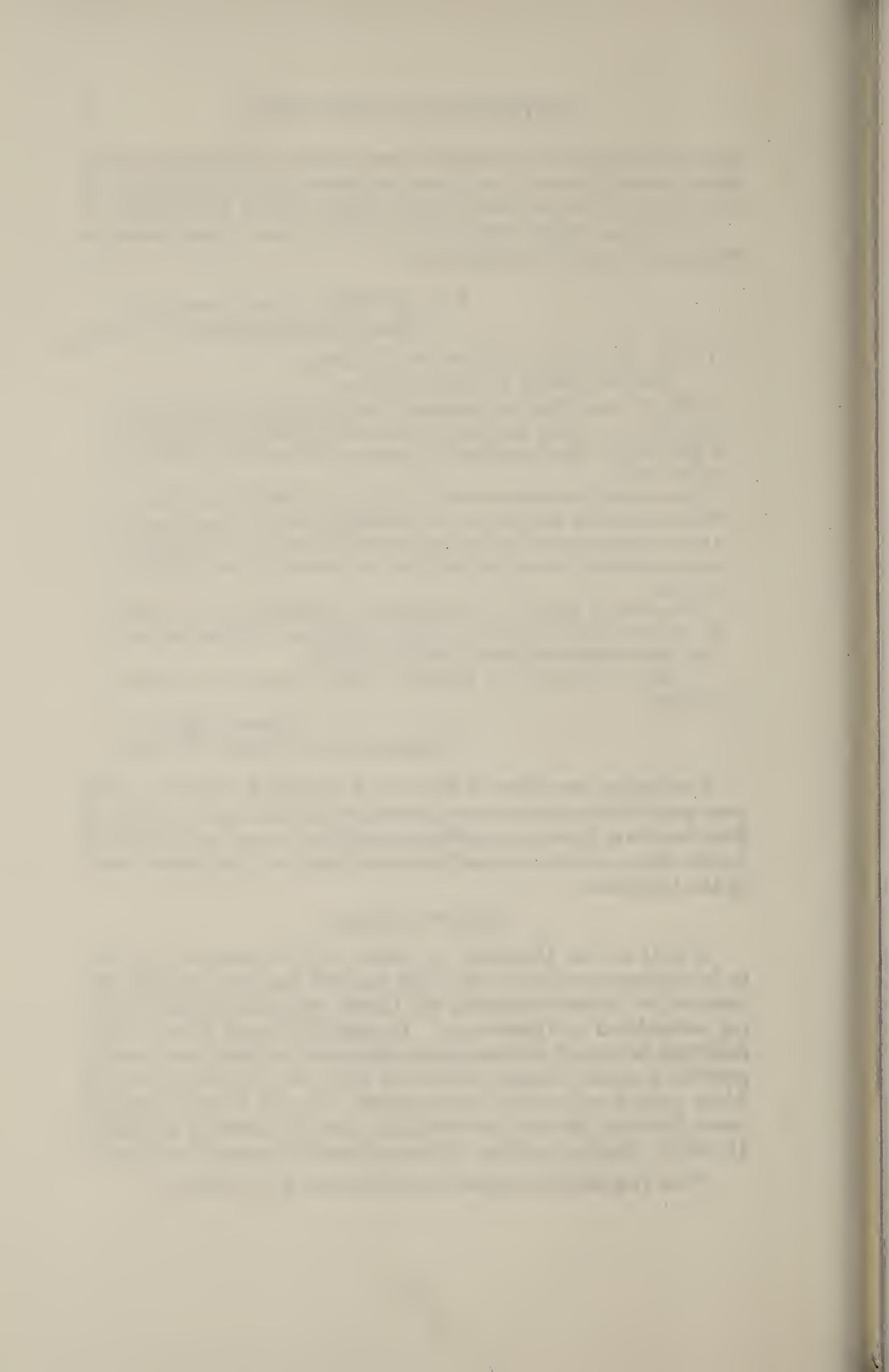
ORISON BLUNT,
Chairman N. Y. County Vol. Com.

During the remainder of his term, Governor Seymour gave the same unqualified support to the armies in the field, and to every call from Secretary Stanton he replied promptly with men, as is evidenced by the telegrams which passed between them, and the orders issued by the Governor.

BOUNTY FRAUDS

A final call on December 19, 1864, for 500,000 men was felt to be unnecessary since at that time General Lee was virtually surrounded by Generals Sherman and Grant, and on April 5th following surrendered at Appomattox. In spite of General Grant's statement that he had all the men and munitions of war that were needed, political pressure brought about the final call for troops, out of which gross frauds were soon revealed. Senator Roscoe Conkling wrote Secretary Stanton protesting against the methods of Major Haddock, Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal General at Elmira,

⁶⁶ New York and the Conscription of 1863, by James B. Fry, 1885, p. 62.



N. Y., in the payment of the bounty money and the quotas for the district which brought about his arrest and court-martial. At the trial it was shown that he was in league with bounty money brokers to defraud the government out of large sums by enlisting bounty-jumpers who received \$1,100 bounty as they enlisted, divided with the brokers, and then escaped from the rear of the camping-ground



PHOTOGRAPH FROM ORIGINAL ON GLASS OF HORATIO SEYMOUR.
(In the possession of The New York Historical Society.)



where no guard was stationed. For this purpose the quota of 475 in a district was raised to 1,044, and the false quota caused an extra tax of \$500,000 to be levied in Oneida County. The viciousness of this system may be judged by the statement of Senator Conkling made in Congress, April 24, 1866, when he said that "out of 700,000 to 800,000 men *for* whom, not *to* whom, enormous bounties were paid, not to exceed 300,000, I believe not 200,000 ever reached the front."⁶⁷ Senator Conkling was appointed by Secretary Stanton to prosecute the frauds which resulted in the conviction of Major Haddock with the findings of the court-martial published in October, 1865, in which he was to be cashiered, to pay a fine of ten thousand dollars, and to be imprisoned until the fine was paid, not to exceed five years. The president of the court said that the general feeling of pardon after the war made the punishment light, otherwise in war his sentence would have been death.⁶⁸

All through his campaign speeches Governor Seymour referred to and attacked corruption in the carrying on of the war, and in this connection the following paragraphs from the Life and Letters of Roscoe Conkling . . . are significant:

"Referring to the President's last call for troops, a member of the Cabinet [Stanton] remarked: 'Mr. Lincoln, if recruiting goes forward in this way, your new call for troops will soon be answered;' whereupon the President replied: 'Oh yes: we have a pretty big army already—on paper; but what we want is men in boots and breeches. This great array of figures, in respect to soldiers, is not going to suppress the Rebellion. I want *men* who can carry muskets and eat hard-tack.'

"It appeared that previous to President Lincoln's last call for half a million men, the bounty brokers had been granted such facilities as to make the filling of quotas a very lucrative business.

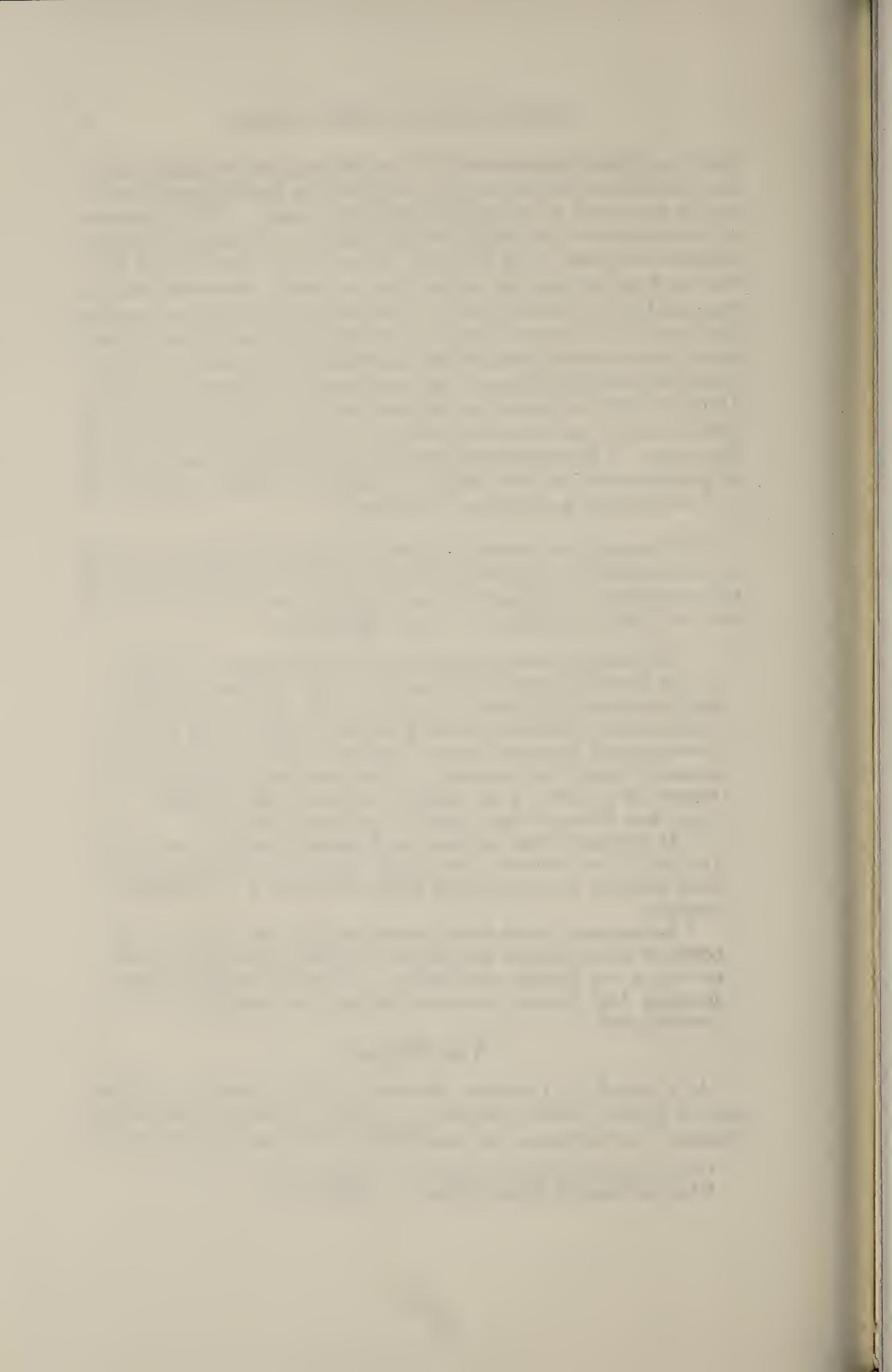
"Subsequent events have shown that this last call was the result of premeditated and persistent efforts of a few persons to reap a rich harvest of plunder. It was known that bounty-jumping had rapidly increased during the supplying of the previous call."

THE RECORD

In a speech by Governor Seymour at the Centennial Celebration at Cherry Valley, August 15, 1877, he said: "One of the proudest recollections of my public life is the fact that while Gov-

⁶⁷ Life and Letters of Roscoe Conkling . . . , 1889, p. 230.

⁶⁸ Life and Letters of Roscoe Conkling . . . , 1889, p. 244.



ernor of this State during the War of the Rebellion I enrolled over 400,000 soldiers to fight in the Union Army and signed over 16,000 commissions of the officers to command them.”⁶⁹

No one can read the speeches of Governor Seymour without feeling his deep patriotism, his great knowledge and ability, and, above all, his devotion to the rights of states and personal liberty. For these he labored ceaselessly, without a single disloyal utterance, and his honesty was unquestioned by all who knew him. That he was not (with many others) in favor of the draft law is true, and since the Federal Government assumed all state jurisdiction in military matters pertaining to the draft, it is not surprising that he was not eager to help the draft and preferred urging the volunteer system which he did with great success.

Governor Seymour was defeated for re-election in 1864 when the state again went Republican with the election of Abraham Lincoln to his second term as President of the United States.

DELEGATE TO CONVENTIONS

Mr. Seymour was a delegate to the Cincinnati convention in 1856 which nominated James Buchanan for President, and in 1864 he presided over the Democratic convention which nominated General George B. McClellan for the Presidency at Chicago. He also presided over the State Conventions of his party on October 3, 1867, and March 11, 1868.⁷⁰

NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT

The National Democratic Convention in 1868 convened at Tammany Hall in New York City on July 4th with Horatio Seymour presiding. His choice for the Presidential nomination was Salmon P. Chase. After a week of fruitless balloting, the Ohio delegation suddenly nominated Mr. Seymour, which seemed immediately to meet the approval of the convention and broke the deadlock. He was unanimously chosen on the 22d ballot. When his name was first mentioned he made an able protest against it for he had not the remotest intention of withdrawing his refusal to allow his name to be considered. Great was the enthusiasm which followed the placing of his name in nomination, which so overwhelmed him that he retired from the hall to an ante-room. Against his better judgment and wishes he later in the day accepted the nomination. He was defeated by General Ulysses S. Grant, his

⁶⁹ The Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York, by A. C. Beach, 1879, p. 383.

⁷⁰ Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. 5, p. 477.



Republican opponent, but his own state of New York voted solidly for him and gave him its electoral vote as well as electing the Democratic Governor, John T. Hoffman.

OTHER APPOINTMENTS

By an act of the legislature on April 22, 1868, a commission of fisheries was appointed to ascertain whether or not the rivers, lakes and streams could be rendered more productive of fish, and the way to effect this result. The act named Horatio Seymour, Seth Green and Robert B. Roosevelt as commissioners to serve two years and this term was later extended.⁷¹ No salary was attached to the appointment, but the Governor's natural love of the primitive and his interest in wild life made him a valuable member of the committee.

The Reports of the Commissioners of Fisheries have been printed.

He was appointed without salary by an act of the legislature on May 23, 1872, one of seven commissioners of state parks, who on May 15, 1873, made a report recommending the preservation of the Adirondack forests by state acquisition. Ten years elapsed before this advice was heeded, and on February 6, 1883, only three years before the death of Governor Seymour, the state took title to 573,000 acres in the Adirondacks.⁷²

Another appointment without salary was that of commissioner of state survey on April 29, 1876. He was president of the commission from January 9, 1878, until he resigned on May 23, 1883. His interest in securing an accurate survey of the state and the establishment of permanent monuments was of long standing for he recommended it in his first message to the legislature when he became governor in 1853. It was not, however, until 1876 that the legislature passed an act appropriating money for the survey.⁷³

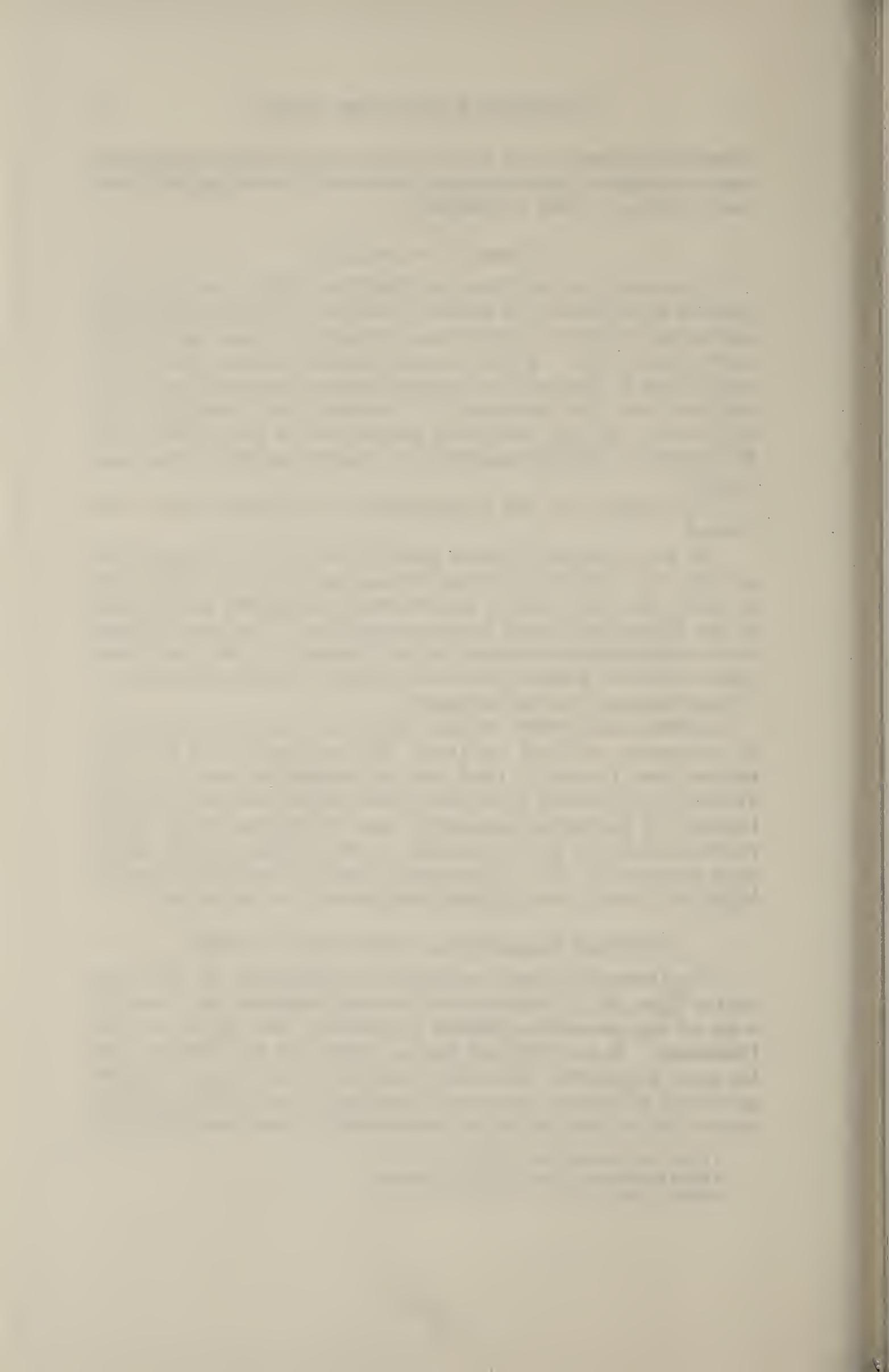
OFFERED PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION IN 1876

The Democratic state convention in the spring of 1876 was held at Utica, N. Y., the home of Governor Seymour, for it was the hope of the convention leaders to nominate him again for the Presidency. It was believed that he could win the election with his great popularity. His home was the scene of many notable gatherings of the leading men of the country who urged his acceptance of the call with strong arguments which lasted into the night,

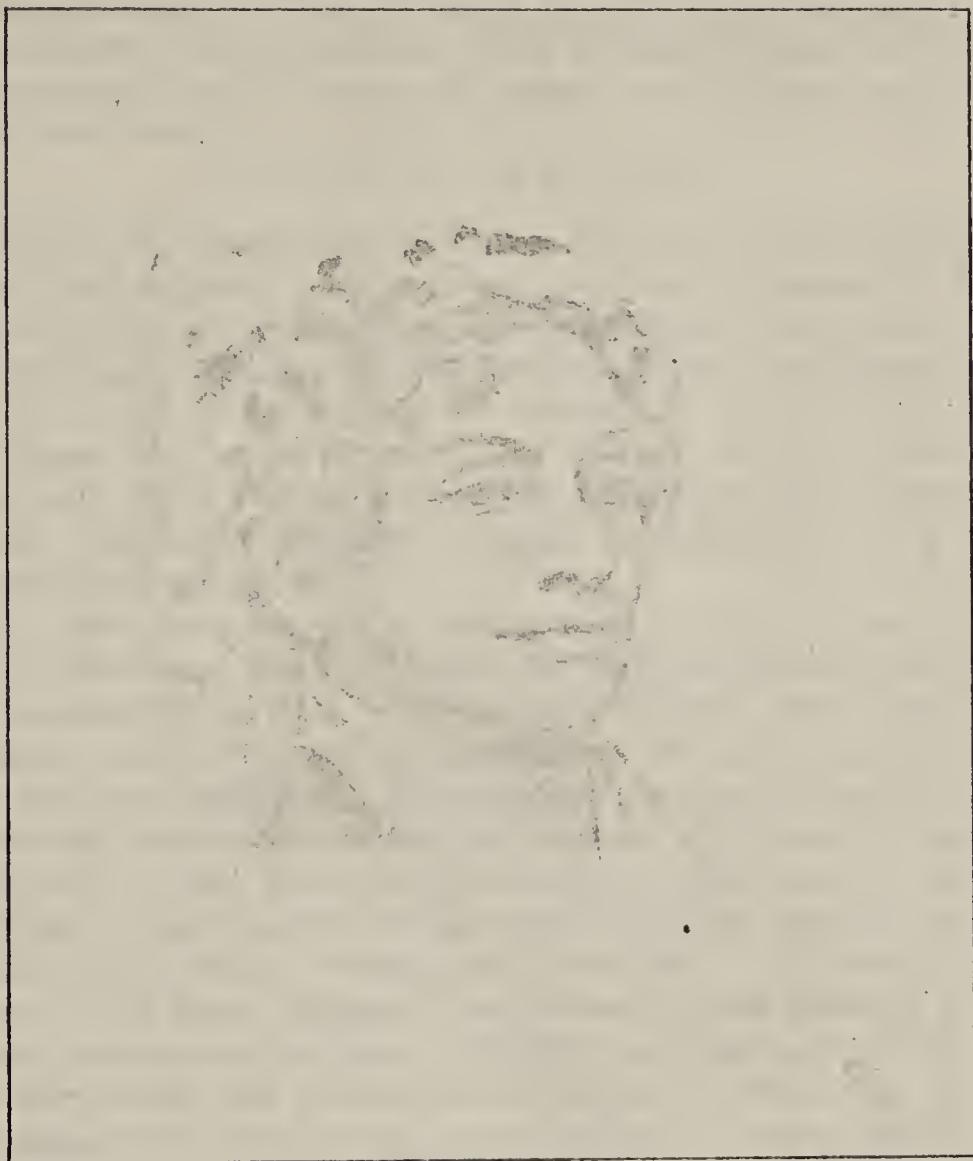
⁷¹ Civil List State of New York, p. 347.

⁷² Civil List State of New York, pp. 332-334.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 329.



but then, as later, he refused the nomination. He was a delegate to the electoral college of the State of New York which met at Albany on December 5 and 6, 1876, to give their Presidential vote for Samuel J. Tilden. Here he was chosen president, and his enlightening address as presiding officer on that occasion has been printed.



MRS. HORATIO SEYMOUR (1812-1886), (MARY BLEECKER).

(Photograph of a crayon made about 1875.)

In 1880 he could have been the Democratic Presidential nominee had he wished it; and, in fact, the family physician was called in to assist him in refusing the unsought honor by stressing the fact that Mr. Seymour's health would not permit him again to enter any political campaign.



PREFERRED NOMINATIONS

We have thus far succinctly set forth the official positions held by Horatio Seymour. It is to be noted that at no time did he seek nomination for office, and he was never unhappy in defeat. He declined the proffered nominations from his party for state senator, for congress and for governor more than once. Except for his persistent refusal in 1874 he would have been chosen for the seat in the United States senate to which Francis Kernan was elected. His leadership in the Democratic party extended over a period of almost forty years.

NON-POLITICAL INTERESTS

Writing to a member of his family after one of his early defeats, he said that he was in the minority and out of power. "I find, however, numerous consolations in my political retirement. . . . I am beginning to explore the wild and magnificent regions of northern New York. I have made one journey on foot (if travelling in snow shoes can be so termed) and I have returned home quite enthusiastic about the Forests, Lakes and Mountains of Hamilton County. My adventures would make a readable book. I am quite enamoured of savage life."

He was a keen student of nature with a great interest in birds, flowers, plants and trees. His studies included geology, astronomy and meteorology as well. The early history of New York, its topography and agriculture, its canals and its Indians provided another source of pleasure. His interests were broad and he sought to promote the welfare of his fellowmen. He foresaw the great development of the West, and predicted populous cities in the Middle West. His influence in that section of the country was commended upon as being "strong and continuous." A writer has said of him: "He knew the need, and advocated the planting of trees upon its treeless prairie lands. Millions of trees are growing upon them now which that same influence planted. More than one hundred thousand of them of my own planting are casting ample shade upon soils near Omaha, which bear the name of Seymour Park, where never tree grew before in all the history or traditions of that rich region. Among those trees are some Oneida county black cherry trees which were sent to me in their tender babyhood by him and now stand in their rooted stockings thirty feet high, as handsome a grotto of green beauties as human eye ever beheld."⁷⁴ To

⁷⁴ Memorial address delivered in Utica, N. Y., at the dedication of the Seymour monument by George L. Miller of Omaha, Neb., Sept. 22, 1899, p. 20. Seymour Park no longer exists as such. It was Dr. Miller's private enterprize. The village of Ralston, a suburb of Omaha, Neb., and the Lakoma Country Club are part of the original Seymour Park.



a man with such varied interests, political defeat meant little, and in an interview late in life he remarked: ". . . I decided at an early age to take an active interest in everything that concerned the general welfare, and, above all, to keep my mind vigorous and sympathetic. I determined to learn something, no matter how little, regarding every object or subject which came under my notice. I did not seek to be learned in a high degree with regard to any of these things, but I did seek from my own labor and the labor of others to gain a reasonably clear conception of the progress of science and the ends it had gained. I believed that by doing so, while life lasted, no matter what change of health or fortune came, I would be able to find some subject or object in the world by which I might be interested and rendered content."⁷⁵ It is, therefore, easily understood how in 1864 after Governor Seymour had been defeated for re-election, a close friend could write of him: "The Governor is cheerful at the result—as a man from whom a load had been lifted."⁷⁶

PERSONALITY

Governor Seymour was six feet tall and of handsome features with perfect figure. His great popularity all through his career could have been founded only on his earnestness of purpose, his humanitarianism and his other sterling traits of character. I have related that he was on the staff of Governor Marcy of New York. Later when Marcy became Secretary of State under President Pierce in 1853, Seymour was looked to for advice in making many of the political appointments which fall to the President and his cabinet to decide upon, and at this time he carried on a confidential correspondence with Secretary Marcy at Washington. Their friendship remained unbroken until death. Seymour's attitude toward good government (while always an ardent party man) is revealed in a letter to Secretary Marcy dated Albany, March 19, 1853, in which he says:

"I have reflected very much upon the subject of the appointments to be made by the General administration in this State. There is some danger that in trying to adjust difficulties the essential requisitions of fitness in the candidate may be lost sight of. As it respects the Custom House in New York, it appears to me that the question is, not to which of the candidates should it be given, but where can you find the fit man who will consent to take it. Its commercial importance is so great and it is so connected with the business interests of New York, that the

⁷⁵ New York Times, Aug. 18, 1879, "The Farmer Statesman."

⁷⁶ S. T. Fairchild, of Cazenovia, to his wife, Nov., 1864, N. Y. H. S.



character of the Collector and the manner in which he conducts the affairs of the Custom House determines to a great degree the character of the administration in the minds of the great mercantile community. Get an honest and capable man if you have to take a Whig.⁷⁷ . . ."

In a letter from S. T. Fairchild to L. P. Clark dated Albany, March 10, 1863, we have further evidence of Governor Seymour's methods. This letter reads in part: "The understanding has been that the Governor would nominate any fair man who should be properly recommended for victory whether Democrat or Republican, and that all would be confirmed without regard to party character. The Governor has nominated in that way but the Senate, it seems, will not so confirm."

With such lofty ideals in political matters Governor Seymour deserved the tribute that "nobody ever accused him of using his official influence to advance his private interests or ambitions" which was said of him in the press of the day at the time of his death.

During the Civil War, when a general agent for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers was needed for the care of New York's men in the field, Governor Seymour appointed his brother, John Forman Seymour, to the position believing that no one could better carry on that humane task than his brother, for between them had always existed great fondness and confidence.

John Forman Seymour was the only brother of Horatio and four years his junior. He was graduated from Yale in 1835, studied law and was admitted to the Bar in 1839. He acted as a private secretary to his brother during the latter's war term as Governor. When state agent for the relief of soldiers he also organized corps of surgeons and went with them to carry on their work to various battlefields. He was present at the battle of Antietam, Fredericksburg and Gettysburg, laboring so hard in caring for the wounded and dying that he became completely exhausted and never entirely recovered from the prostration which followed. The magnitude of his work may be seen in his annual report as state agent for 1863. Like his brother, he declined many preferred nominations, but did great work in many organizations and in appointive positions which he held. So much alike in character, they were inseparable all through life. Their co-operation in all matters of public interest was an accepted fact.

⁷⁷ The New York Historical Society Collection, typewritten copy.



HORATIO SEYMOUR'S MARRIAGE

At the age of twenty-five, on his birthday, May 31, 1835, Horatio Seymour married Mary, daughter of John R. Bleecker of Albany, N. Y., and Esther Bailey Linn, his wife. They had no



THE SEYMOUR HOME, NO. 36 Whitesboro Street, UTICA, N. Y., ABOUT 1880. Built by David Childs and bought by Henry Seymour in 1820.

children. She was a direct descendant of Jan Janse Bleecker, founder of the family in America, who was born in Meppel, Overyssel, Holland, on July 9, 1642, and died in Albany, N. Y., November 31, 1734. He emigrated in 1658 to America. In 1686 he became a charter alderman of Albany; was elected mayor in 1700, and a member of the New York Assembly in 1698-1699 and 1701-1702.⁷⁸

HOME LIFE

Horatio Seymour brought his bride to the home of his parents, 36 Whitesboro Street, Utica, N. Y., where they lived during the re-

⁷⁸ The Genealogical History of New Jersey, 1910, Neilson and Allied Families by James Neilson; revised 1911.

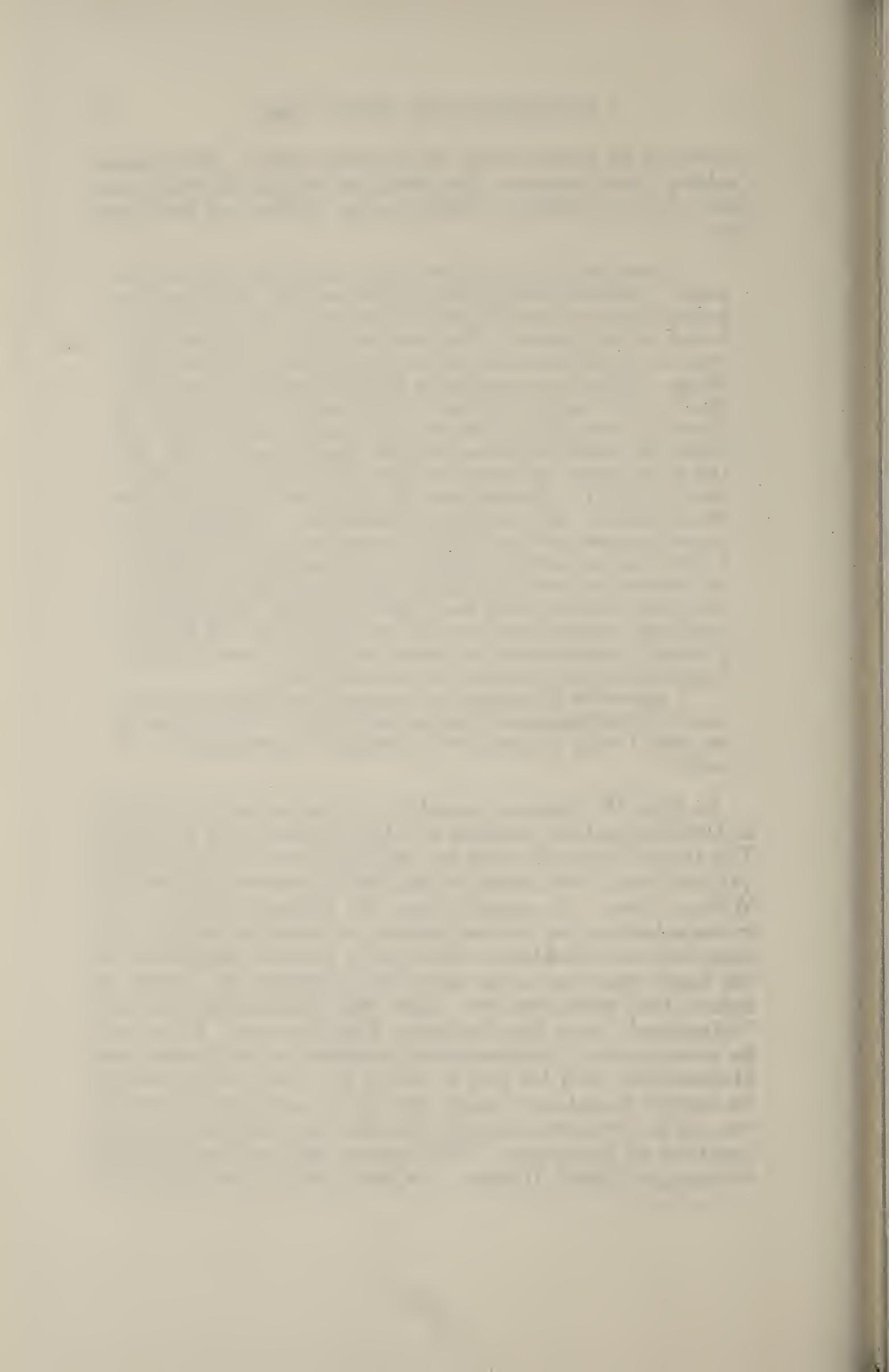


mainder of his parents' lives, all in perfect accord. Mrs. Roscoe Conkling (Julia Seymour), his sister, has left the following recollections of her childhood, a tribute to her brother and their home life:

"Heaven itself could not have been pleasanter than our old home. Horatio had a perfect temper, and like his wife whom he brought to our mother's house when they were married, was full of wit and humor. The breakfast table, the dinner table, were so cheerful; the talk was so gay and full of pleasant little things. After tea we walked in the old garden and sat on the stoop overlooking the Mohawk River and the Deerfield Hills. Horatio often called us to see a fine sunset, and his love of nature, of plants, made me care for them as much as he did. Our mother was, of course, the head of the house (our father died in 1837). Horatio and his wife lived there like the other children. All was peace and harmony. I was the youngest and can remember no chill in its sunshine, no friction (which a child feels so surely) among its older members. Doubtless our mother had cares, but I never felt them cloud the sunshine; there never seemed to be much money, but the household was exquisitely ordered, and we had every comfort and pleasure. Horatio's consideration for others, especially those less privileged than himself, marked his character then.

"I remember his saying to me some years before, in reference to some proposal to re-enter political life: 'No, the rest of my days I wish to spend for others and in preparing for the end.'"

In 1864 Mr. Seymour moved to a cottage across the Mohawk in Deerfield on land inherited by Mrs. Seymour from her father. This farm of about 350 acres was originally a part of Cosby Manor (24,000 acres), first granted to the Royal Governor of New York, William Cosby. It extended from the Mohawk River in front to the uplands in the rear—a distance of nearly two miles. Governor Seymour added land to this farm by purchase, and refitted the old house which was never more than a cottage yet became delightful both inside and out. Here they lived, calling the place "Marysland" after Mrs. Seymour's Christian name. He came to be known as the "Pathmaster of Deerfield," which pleased him. Harmoniously with his love of nature his home was picturesque. Its interior furnishings bespoke the scholar and historian that he was for he surrounded himself with the books, pictures and relics indicative of his interests. His favorite chair was one formerly belonging to Daniel Webster. In later years he was interviewed



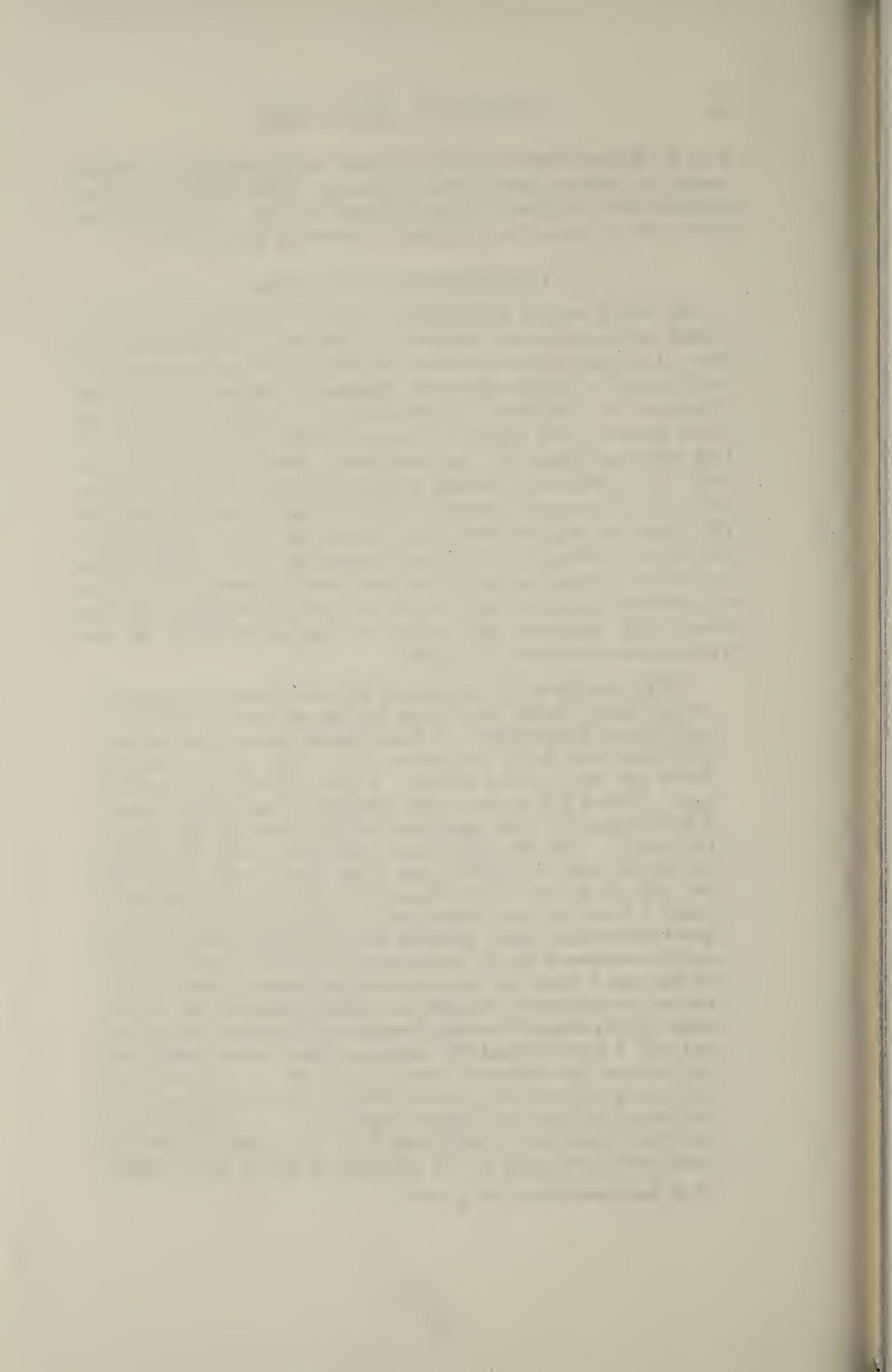
here for his recollections, and his home was the subject of many an article in various publications. The St. John's Orphan Asylum children were frequently invited to spend the day at Deerfield farm where Mr. Seymour took delight in dispensing hospitality.⁷⁹

CONSIDERATION FOR OTHERS

He was a man of simple tastes who lived within his means although his generosity is attested to by all who were intimate with him. Perhaps no man in his day in political life was more helpful to the needy. It gave him great pleasure to relieve the sufferings of others, and he always put the most favorable construction on men's actions. His military secretary, Major William Kidd, said that while governor, he was particularly considerate to the relatives of convicts who brought applications for pardon, and gave orders that they should always be admitted to the executive chamber. He oftentimes supplied them with food and money. In later years he became president of the Prison Association of the United States, and he was among the first to advocate the shortening of the terms of prisoners for good behavior and to compensate them for their labor. His views on this subject are best set forth in his own words to the prisoners of Auburn:

"My interest in the inmates of this and other prisons grew out of official duties, as I have had to act on many cases of applications for pardons. I have learned from a long experience with men in all conditions of life that none is without faults and none without virtues. I have studied character with care. I have had to deal with Presidents and with prisoners. I have associated with those held in high honor by the American people. On the other hand, the laws of our state have placed the lives of criminal men in my hands, and it has been my duty to decide if they should live or die. The period in which I took the most active part in public affairs was one of great excitement, when passions and prejudices were aroused, and in common with all others engaged with the controversies of the day, I have felt the bitterness of partisan strife; nevertheless, experience has taught me to think kindly of my fellow-men. Everywhere, from the President's Mansion to the prisoner's cell, I have learned the wisdom of that prayer which begs that we may be delivered from temptation. . . . It has been said that despair is the unpardonable sin, for it paralyzes every sentiment that leads to virtue or happiness. . . . For this reason when Governor of this State, I did all I could to gain the passage of laws which enable each one of you by good conduct

⁷⁹ cf. *Hearth and Home*, June 4, 1870.



to shorten the term of your imprisonment, and if I had my way you would have a share in the profits of your labor."⁸⁰



THE HORATIO SEYMOUR HOMESTEAD, "MARYSLAND," AT DEERFIELD, N. Y., OCCUPIED BY MR. AND MRS. SEYMOUR, 1864-1886. Front view with Governor Seymour on the "stoop" and his favorite old black cherry tree in foreground.

Governor Seymour's love of justice is perhaps best set forth in the following anecdote related by Mr. Dederich Willers, his private secretary:

"I was on my way from Washington in 1864 when I overheard a prominent military officer in the cars accusing Governor Seymour of being a traitor, and indulging in all the heated and angry words of that year. He abused Governor Seymour most unmercifully. I had not been in Albany but a few days when I walked the same military officer into the executive chamber, and had a long conversation with the Governor. He wanted to be promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel, and was asking the promotion from the man he had publicly and shamefully abused. I called the Governor aside and told him privately of the officer's words on the cars. He smiled and went back to his desk and informed the officer that his promotion

⁸⁰ Address of Horatio Seymour, July 4, 1879, Auburn prison, pp. 7-8.



would be granted. I was surprised, and Governor Seymour afterward remarked to me that the promotion was a meritorious one, that it had been recommended by senior officers, and what he had said of him did not enter into the case at all. But when the new commission was handed the officer in the Adjutant-General's office he was informed for the first time that his abusive language of Governor Seymour was known to the Governor. . . . He was the most chagrined and humiliated man that was ever seen at military headquarters.”⁸¹

Dr. Willis E. Ford, friend and family physician of Mr. Seymour, said of him:

“ Seymour was not a politician in the sense we now speak of it; he was a scholarly philosopher, whose education had not only made him well informed, but had given him wisdom. His speeches were largely literary and the beauty of the language that he used bore the stamp of his high scholarly attainments.”⁸²

AS AN ORATOR

Mr. Seymour was one of the greatest orators of his time, and while we of the present day are delighted at the choice of language and the clarity of expression in his speeches, we are told that we can form no idea of the charm of his delivery and the dignity of his bearing. From the moment his tall form appeared on the platform until he finished speaking, he held complete possession of his audience. He was heard to speak for over an hour without hesitation or faltering; his words flowed smoothly and were clear and distinct, while his voice was pleasant even in his most excited delivery.

MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

Much has been said of military preparedness in recent years but I doubt if that subject could be more ably presented than it was in Governor Seymour's address in 1862, a part of which follows:

“ The theory of our Government makes the militia an important and substantial part of its system. It is interwoven with the whole structure. If it is allowed to fall into decay, our institutions are weakened. The fear is sometimes expressed that we shall become a military people. Our fathers meant that we should be a martial nation; and none the less so because the military is to be subordinate to the civil power. It was to constitute the strength which the executive could put forth to enforce the laws, to crush rebellion and to repel in-

⁸¹ Newspaper clipping, Seymour Collection, N. Y. H. S.

⁸² Newspaper clipping, Seymour Collection, N. Y. H. S.



vasion. The fact that our military is interwoven with the civil system was not designed to lessen its power or its importance, but to render it less dangerous by identifying it with every interest of the citizen, and to make it intrinsic and not extrinsic to our social power. It arms the American citizen with a musket as it does with a ballot, to give him the means to protect his rights. It contemplates that he shall be skilled in the use of arms, and attached to an organization equal to the performance of its constitutional duty of upholding the Government and driving away invaders. All republics have been and must be martial in their organization.

"I do not mean that the military must be exalted above the civil power, or that republics must be invasive in tendency. But I do mean to say that the power of every country is in the hands of its armed men. If these armed men are the citizens at large, the liberties of that community are safe. But if these armed and disciplined men are set apart from the rest of the people, have separate interests and are under different control, they are the masters of the Government, I do not care what that Government may be called. If the 600,000 men now enrolled in our armies were not fellow citizens, identified with us in every interest and every feeling, our liberties would be lost, and we could not recall them from the camp to their homes in our midst, and to the duties of civil life. . . . The suggestion of the Governor of this State, that instruction in the use of arms should be made a part of our school and college education, is in accordance with the spirit and genius of our Government. . . ." ⁸³

PATRIOTIC ADDRESSES

It is only in the last few years in connection with the 150th Anniversary of the Revolutionary War that the state of New York has appropriated funds for the purpose of assisting local communities in raising monuments to commemorate events in their history and to mark historic sites. It is interesting to note that Governor Seymour was an ardent advocate of this practice at the Centennial Celebration at Johnstown in 1872, where he said:

"Men of the valley of the Mohawk, you have grown rich on the land which your fathers made free at the cost of blood and trials. Your villages and farmhouses show your wealth. Do you bear in mind what you owe to your fathers? Do you show to the world that you honor them? Do you mark the spots made sacred by them? Do you put up monuments to tell

⁸³ Address of Horatio Seymour before the N. Y. State Military Assn., Albany, N. Y., January 23, 1862, pp. 2-3; also in Public Record of Horatio Seymour, pp. 352-353.



the great crowd which pass through your valley that the hills which rise from the banks of your river, and the streams which pour their waters into it, should be looked on with reverence by every American? Nothing I can say to you is half so impressive or so beautiful as this reminder of our great duty towards great men."⁸⁴

Governor Seymour's interest in his state's history began long before the centennial celebrations of the American Revolution in which he took a conspicuous part with many addresses, as will be noted in the appended list of speeches. During his first term as governor of New York the dedication of the monument at Tarrytown, N. Y., commemorating the capture of Major André took place on October 7, 1853, and he made the opening address, stating that it was "the first of a series of measures calculated to do justice to the early history of our State." After relating that we were more familiar with the early history of New England and Virginia than with that of New York, he said: ". . . it must not be supposed that I desire to institute any invidious comparisons between New York and the other members of this glorious confederacy. I only wish to induce you to follow their example of pious and patriotic reverence for the memory of their fathers. While a monument towers upon Bunker Hill, exciting a just pride in the hearts of the citizens of Massachusetts, and a reverence in the minds of strangers for the state where freedom's battle was begun, why is it that no stone marks the spot upon the plains of Saratoga where freedom's fight was won?" Toward the conclusion of his remarks, he thanked those responsible for "rearing this, the first monument erected within the limits of our state, commemorative of the great events which have occurred within our territory that they have commenced the Monumental History of New York."⁸⁵

In 1859 the Saratoga Monument Association was organized for the purpose of erecting a fitting memorial on the site of Burgoyne's capitulation. Horatio Seymour was one of the original fourteen permanent trustees. In 1872, due to the exertions of Mr. Seymour and a few others, the State of New York pledged \$50,000 for the erection of the monument. In 1879 he was President of the Association.

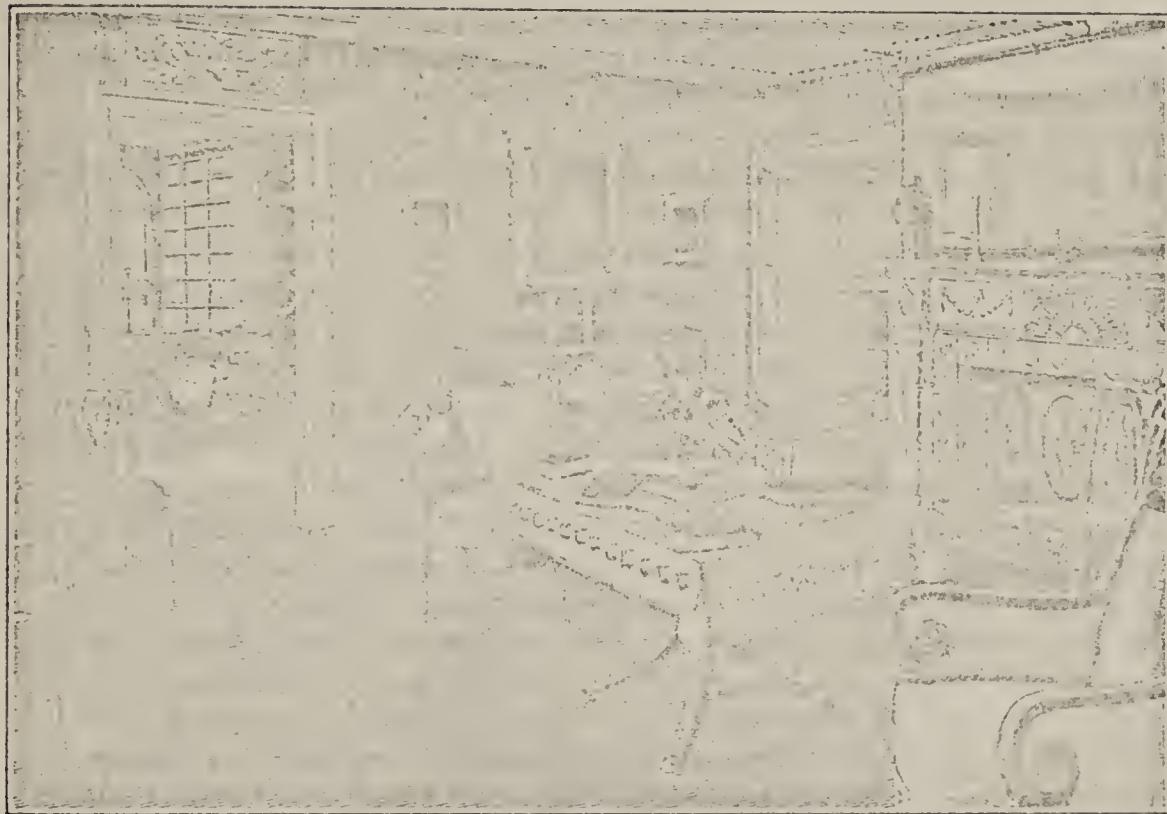
Governor Seymour's interest in history was deep and lasting, and he never failed to emphasize its importance; especially did he try to awaken the pride of New Yorkers in making more of their

⁸⁴ The Gloversville Intelligencer, July 4, 1872.

⁸⁵ Centennial Souvenir of the Monument Association of the Capture of André . . . by N. C. Husted, 1881, pp. 25-37.



historic heritage which he felt they were neglecting. In his able address of welcome at the centennial of the battle of Oriskany in 1877 he said that "historians had done much and well in making up the records of the past. But their recitals have not yet become, as they should be, a part of the general intelligence of our people."⁸⁶



PARLOR OF THE HORATIO SEYMOUR HOMESTEAD AT DEERFIELD, N. Y., WITH LIBRARY BEYOND.

Mr. Seymour's tribute to General Philip Schuyler of the Revolutionary War, spoken at the Centennial Celebration of Burgoyne's capitulation, on October 17, 1877, at Schuylerville, N. Y., is worthy of quotation:

"When we read the story of the event which we now celebrate, whether it is told by friend or foe, there is one figure which rises above all others upon whose conduct and bearing we love to dwell. There is one who won a triumph which never grows dim. One who gave an example of patient patriotism unsurpassed in the pages of history. One who did not, even under cutting wrongs and cruel suspicions, wear an air of martyrdom, but with cheerful alacrity served where he should have commanded. It was a glorious spirit of chivalrous courtesy with which Schuyler met and ministered to those who

⁸⁶ The Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York, by A. C. Beach, 1879, p. 67.



had not only been enemies in arms, but who had inflicted upon him unusual injuries unwarranted by the laws of war. But there was something more grand in his service to his country than even the honor he did to the American cause by his bearing upon the occasion. The spirit of sectional prejudice which the British Cabinet relied upon to prevent cordial co-operation among the colonies, had been exhibited against him in a way most galling to a pure patriot and a brave soldier. But, filled with devotion to his country's cause, he uttered no murmur of complaint, nor did he for a moment cease in his labors to gain its liberties. This grand rebuke to selfish intriguers and to honest prejudices did much to discomfit the one and to teach the other the injustice of their suspicions and the unworthiness of sectional prejudices. The strength of this rebuke sometimes irritates writers who cannot rise above local prejudices, and they try to lessen the public sense of his virtues by reviving the attack, proved to be unjust upon investigation, and which, by the verdict of men honored by their country, was proved to be unfounded. The character of Gen. Schuyler grows brighter in public regard. The injustice done him by his removal from his command, at a time when his zeal and ability had placed victory within his reach, is not perhaps to be regretted. We could not well lose from our history his example of patriotism and of personal honor and chivalry. We could not spare the proof which his case furnishes, that virtue triumphs in the end. We would not change if we could, the history of his trials. For we feel that in the end they gave lustre to his character, and we are forced to say of Gen. Schuyler that, while he had been greatly wronged, he had never been injured."

At the centennial anniversary of the old Palatine Church at St. Johns, N. Y., August 18, 1870, Horatio Seymour said: "If the religious requirements of this community should ever demand a larger place of worship, build anew, and on some other spot. For the sake of your forefathers whose memories and deeds we cherish, for the sake of yourselves and your posterity, I beg of you not to tear down that old landmark. Let it stand for a monument to the life of God and the religious liberty of its builders. When God in his own time sees fit to put it back to the dust from whence it sprung, He will do so. But don't, let me beseech you, tear it down."⁸⁷

When it was proposed in 1878 to change the name of Orange Street in Albany, N. Y., to that of Seymour Avenue, Mr. Seymour wrote to the Board of Aldermen, under date of February 22, 1878, saying that while he was honored and "grateful for this mark of

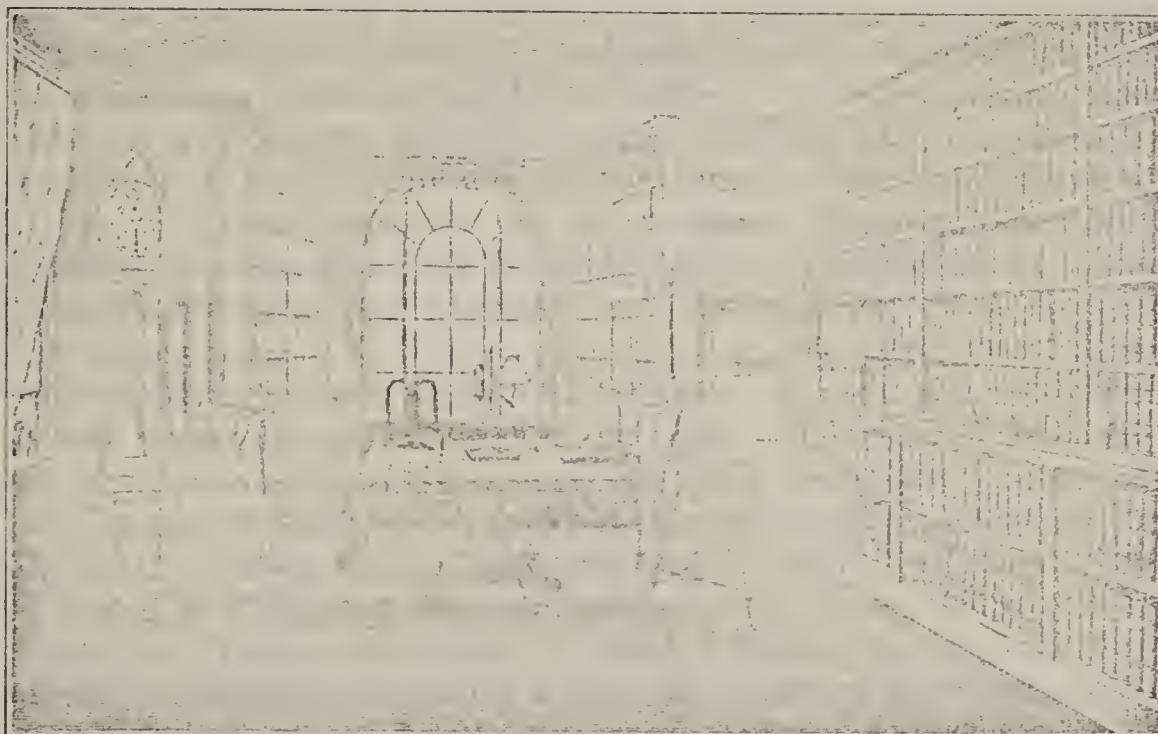
⁸⁷ "Following the Old Mohawk Turnpike," 1927, p. 11.



good will . . . I should not show my gratitude in the right way if I did not say that I feel that the change would be hurtful to the interests of Albany. . . . I hope it will not be deemed intrusive on my part, if I pray that a name which has come down to us through nearly three centuries, should be allowed to stand. . . ."

OTHER INTERESTS

Mr. Seymour was a trustee of Hamilton College for forty-two years. He was chosen first president of the Oneida Historical Society at Utica, N. Y., serving from 1876 when it was incorporated until his death in 1886. He was also made an honorary



LIBRARY OF THE HORATIO SEYMOUR HOMESTEAD AT DEERFIELD, N. Y.

member of The New York Historical Society in 1853, and was a member of the Manhattan Club and many political and other organizations. As president of the American Dairymen's Association, he was the host at their annual meetings on his farm at Deerfield, but he held no claim to expert knowledge as he himself was never a farmer.

In his busy life of many interests he needed great endurance, and this he had both mental and physical. It is recorded that his office hours while governor were from nine o'clock in the morning until all hours of the night, during the busy season. Major Kidd, his military secretary, writes that on several occasions he began at twelve o'clock at night to read to the governor the letters received



that day, and that it was no unusual thing for him to work until two o'clock in the morning. He had a wonderful memory and perfect control of his temper. His treatment of those under him was most considerate and kind, and yet when it was necessary to administer rebuke, he did so with such effect that one felt he had been struck by lightning without the thunder.

NON-PARTISAN FRIENDSHIPS

While Governor Seymour was a staunch believer in the principles of the Democratic party, his friendships knew no party lines. To him honesty of purpose was paramount, and when he knew that his political opponents were true to their calling, they were respected and well spoken of by him. His brother-in-law, the Hon. Roscoe Conkling, was as true a Republican as he was a Democrat and their relations were always most pleasant, all through life. An instance is related that at the reunion of the army of the Cumberland at Utica, N. Y., in September of 1875, Horatio Seymour dined with President Grant who had defeated him in the election of 1868. Generals Sherman and Hooker were also present, all at Senator Conkling's home. Mr. Seymour was not taking official part in this reunion which was held at the Opera House in Utica, and was loathe to take a seat offered him on the platform. He yielded, and after all the others had spoken including President Grant, there were cries of "Seymour! Seymour!", to which he responded most eloquently, and after alluding to the "embarrassment" which he felt as a man of peace in addressing men of such soldierly deeds, he turned towards the President and said: "I think I have some soldierly traits myself; at all events, General Grant, you must acknowledge that in a little contest you and I had not long ago, you ran a great deal better and further than I did." General Grant was also a guest of Mr. Seymour's at the Deerfield home, where it was necessary to enlarge his dining room to accommodate all the guests, making, as Mr. Seymour said, "a permanent mark of a delightful occasion." After a stroll over the farm and long talk with his host, President Grant took leave late and, it is said, reluctantly.

DECLINING YEARS

In the summer of 1876 Mr. Seymour, while aiding on the work of the road at Deersfield, in lifting a heavy boulder was sunstruck, from the effects of which he never fully recovered. While on tour making speeches for General Hancock in 1880, against many remonstrances, he was taken ill at Watertown, N. Y., and had



to withdraw from the campaign to regain his health. In the campaign of 1884, he took but little part beyond writing a letter endorsing the Democratic candidates. Toward the latter part of his life newspaper writers often called upon him for an account of his recollections. In at least two instances long and interesting articles resulted, the first in the New York Times of August 18, 1879, under the heading, "Horatio Seymour of Deerfield"; and the second in the New York Herald of March 28 and 29, 1881, under the caption, "Our Great Domain."

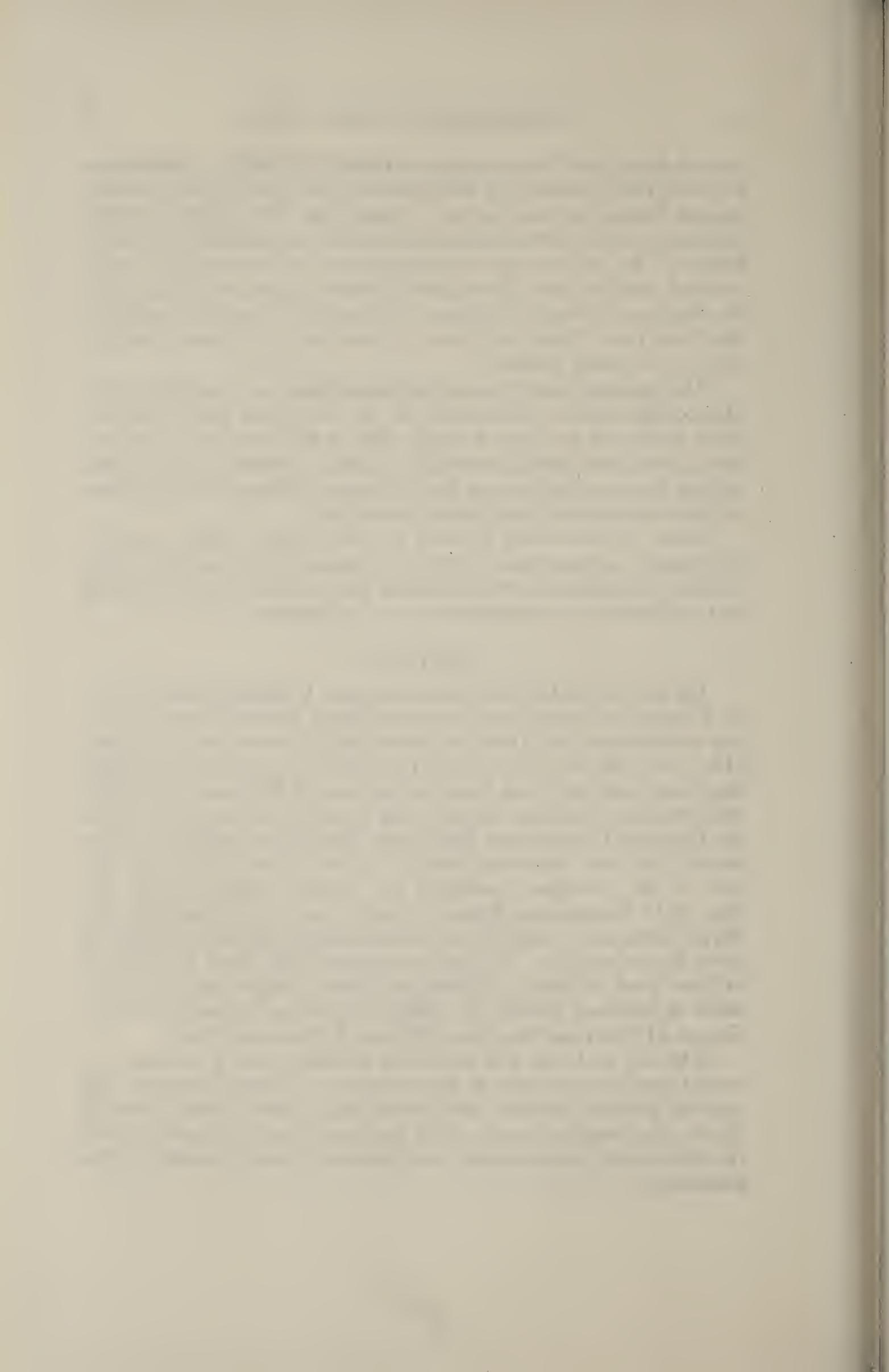
Mr. Seymour made his last political address at a meeting of the Democratic Club of Cazenovia, N. Y. (to which place from his early childhood he made a yearly visit at the home of relatives), during the Presidential campaign of 1884, climbing with no little fatigue the steep staircase to the club room, although he had almost entirely withdrawn from political activities.

While at Cazenovia he used to visit Pompey Hill to see his old friends, and on these trips was accompanied by his sister, Mrs. Ledyard Lincklaen, in the delightful drives made more interesting by the Governor's keen observations of all nature.

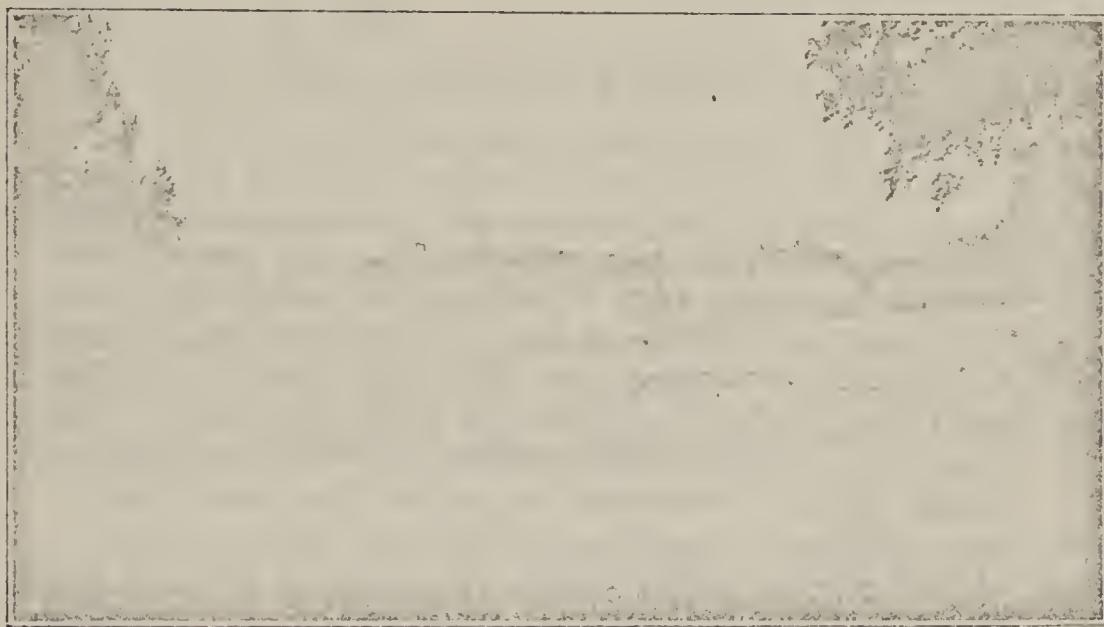
HIS DEATH

He died at the home of Senator Roscoe Conkling, Utica, N. Y., on February 12, 1886, and was buried from Trinity Church in that city on February 16, 1886, in Forest Hill Cemetery on "Prospect Hill." On the day of his funeral his body lay in state in the Conkling home, and as it was being carried out of the house, sixty girls from St. John's Orphan Asylum, with an equal number of boys from St. Vincent's Protectorate, lined each side of the roadway in silent respect for their departed friend. At the church the rector, the Rev. C. H. Gardner, conducted the services, assisted by the Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, Bishop of the diocese, and all the Episcopal clergy in the city. Seats were reserved for the priests and clergy of other denominations. The pallbearers were Col. Fred A. Conkling of New York, Walter S. Church of Albany, Judge George F. Comstock of Syracuse, Charles D. Miller of Geneva, ex-Senator Francis Kernan of Utica and the Hon. William J. Bacon of Utica.

The city of Utica was draped in mourning and a monster memorial meeting was held in his memory, at which Governor Hill was the principal speaker with many distinguished men following. Twenty-five hundred people filled the opera house to capacity, with the lobbies and steps crowded, and thousands outside unable to gain admission.



Mrs. Seymour did not long survive her distinguished husband, and died on March 8, 1886, also at Senator Conkling's house whither they had come together to escape the deep winter snow at Deerfield.



LOOKING ACROSS THE VALLEY OF THE MOHAWK, UTICA, N. Y., IN THE DISTANCE.
(Photographed from the Seymour Homestead at Deerfield, N. Y.)

TRIBUTES

The press of the day at his death paid glowing tributes to Mr. Seymour, and particularly those papers of his home city where everyone had the opportunity of knowing him. A few of these tributes follow:

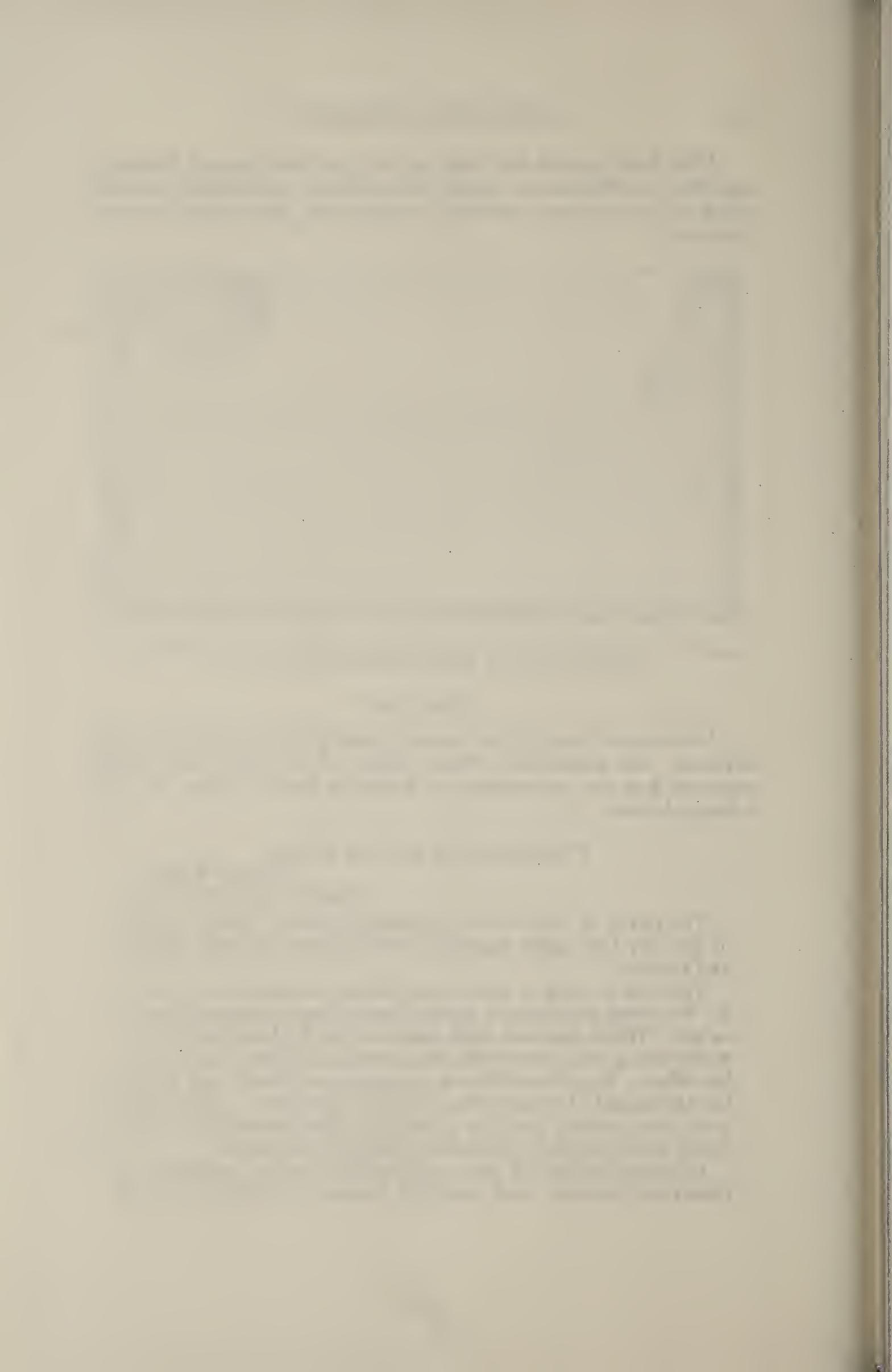
PROCLAMATION BY THE MAYOR

CITY OF UTICA
MAYOR'S OFFICE, UTICA

The death of ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, which occurred in this city last night, has filled the hearts of all with sadness and sorrow.

The loss of such a noble man affects the whole community, for his close relations to every class of men endeared him to us all. While honored with many of the highest preferments within the gift of the people, his greatness did not depend upon his office. In private life he was pure and clean, and he has left the record of a blameless, Christian character. His charity was open handed, and the orphans in this community, in his death, have lost their greatest friend and benefactor.

In consideration of the great public service rendered by Governor Seymour, and the high esteem in which he is held



by all in the state and nation, it is hereby ordered that the city buildings be draped in mourning, and I recommend that our citizens display appropriate emblems of mourning, and that at the time of his funeral there be a general suspension of business.

T. E. KENNEY, *Mayor*

Dated Feb. 13, 1886.

The Utica Daily Observer on February 13, 1886, said in part:

"It is certain that Seymour had none of the craft of that lower type of the American politician with which we are becoming too familiar. He was incapable of resorting to deception, trickery or equivocation to accomplish an end. Duplicity was in his eyes an odious vice, to be shunned and dreaded. Of intrigue he knew nothing, and he scorned to tread its crooked by-paths. He preferred to court public favor openly, to raise politics above the plane of personal controversy and rivalry and to appeal to the best impulses of the voter."

The New York Tribune of February 13, 1886, said:

"All over the United States Horatio Seymour was loved and honored by troops of friends, quite independent of party lines."

The following are the remarks by Mayor Kinney, and the resolutions adopted at the memorial meeting at Utica on February 16, 1886:

"Ladies and Gentlemen: Our streets are draped in black, all traffic in our city is stopped, and our people have followed in thousands to our last resting-place all that is mortal of our first citizen.

"We are here assembled, his friends and neighbors, to make manifest and to put on record our sense of the great loss this community has sustained in the death of our fellow-townsman, Horatio Seymour.

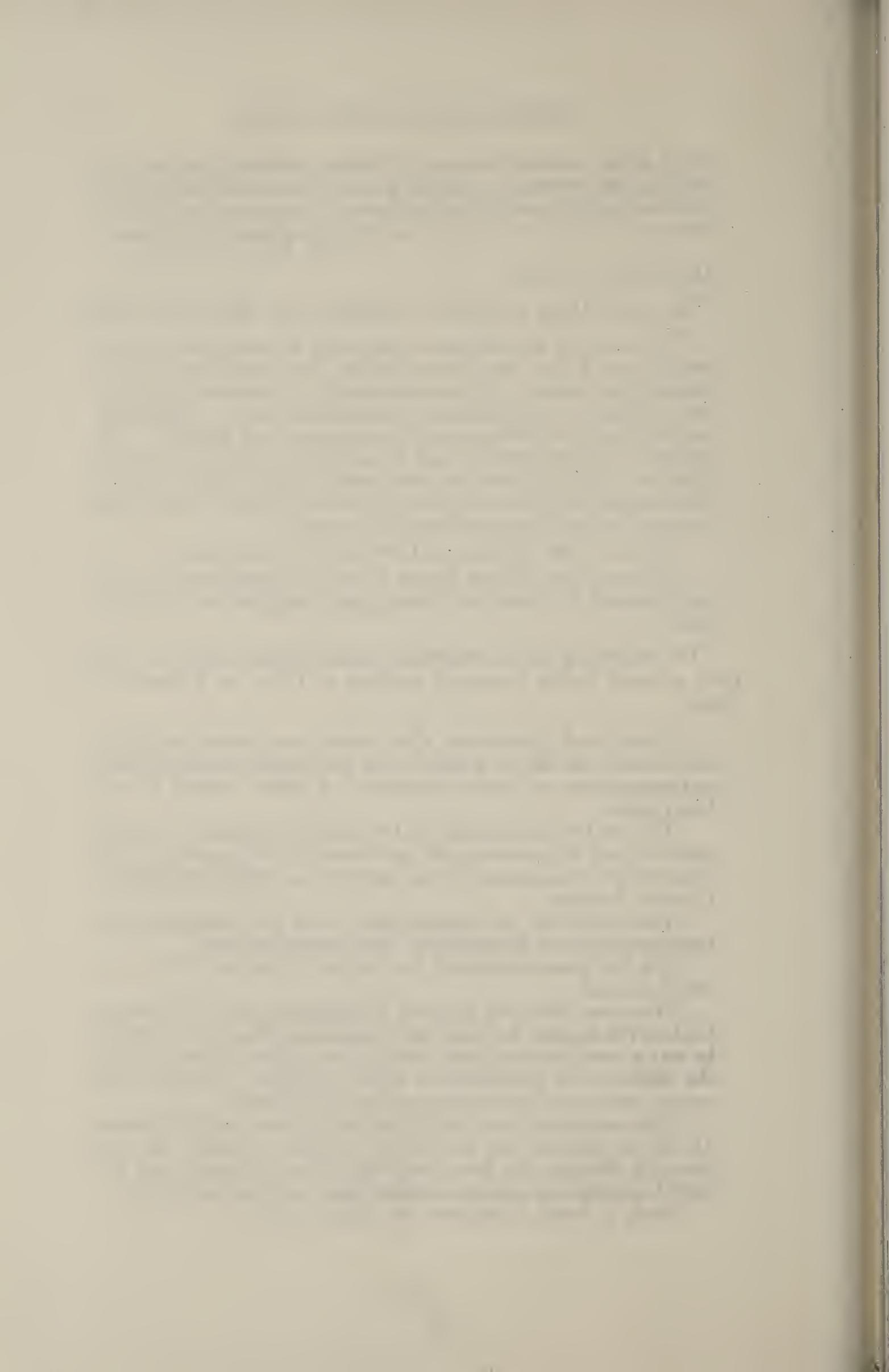
"The annals of our country show that his patriotism, his statesmanship and his eloquence were second to none.

"To the great masses of the people, wherever known, he was their idol.

"No man, since the days of Washington, had a stronger hold on the people; he loved the masses, and they reciprocated; he was a born leader of men, and nature endowed him with all the elements of greatness—a noble presence, matchless eloquence and a character that never knew a blemish.

"The records of our charitable institutions, and the voices of the motherless and fatherless in them, proclaim his unbounded charity; his farm was their picnic ground, and his genial countenance always brought them sunshine and cheer.

"Such, in brief, is the man the people mourn.



"Take him all in all, we his neighbors here proclaim it, and the world will endorse it—Horatio Seymour was nature's nobleman."

THE RESOLUTIONS

The citizens of Utica, called together by the death of Horatio Seymour, desire to make public expression of sorrow at his decease, and to place on record their appreciation of the services of the public man and their tribute to his virtues as a citizen.

In every public station, Horatio Seymour was faithful to the trust confided to him, and never swerved from the path of duty. All conceded and respected the purity of his motives.

He had a passionate attachment to his native state, and most dear to him were its traditions and history, and in its developments, and in all its institutions and public works he always manifested the deepest interest.

As a public speaker, his appearance, his polished manner and his felicity of expression, his fervid, persuasive eloquence, have ever excited our admiration.

While others knew him as a public man, as Governor of the State, as the candidate of a great party for the highest office in the gift of the people of this country, as a statesman, as an acknowledged leader of public opinion, it has been our privilege to know him in private life as a model of every public and private virtue.

In all the relations of life he was irreproachable. He knew human nature in every phase; he felt for the suffering in every form.

His kindness of heart always prompted him to aid the unfortunate, and he was generous to a fault.

It is, therefore, to the citizens of Utica, his friends and neighbors, that his death brings the greater weight of sorrow, for in him were happily blended the qualities which render a man great and honored among men, and also those which make him deeply loved.

It is a source of gratification to us to know that in his latter years he reaped the reward of a well-spent life in the constant homage which came to him from every section of our country, and from men in all the walks of life.

His gentle dignity and kindly manner, his genial, courteous address, his playful humor, so harmless and so quaint, his charity for the weaknesses of men, his friendly suggestions and wise counsels will be remembered and recalled with feelings of pride and pleasure by the citizens of this city for years to come.

A meeting of old friends and neighbors of Governor Seymour was held at San Francisco, Cal., in the Palace Hotel, and a Com-



mittee appointed to embody the sentiments of the meeting in a set of resolutions which was forwarded to Mrs. Seymour. The Democratic State Committee of California adopted similar resolutions



HORATIO SEYMOUR AT THE AGE OF 76, SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH.

of regret upon his death. The San Francisco *Call* of February 21, 1886, printed these resolutions as well as some boyhood reminiscences of Mr. Benjamin H. Throop, a schoolmate of Mr. Seymour, who said in part:



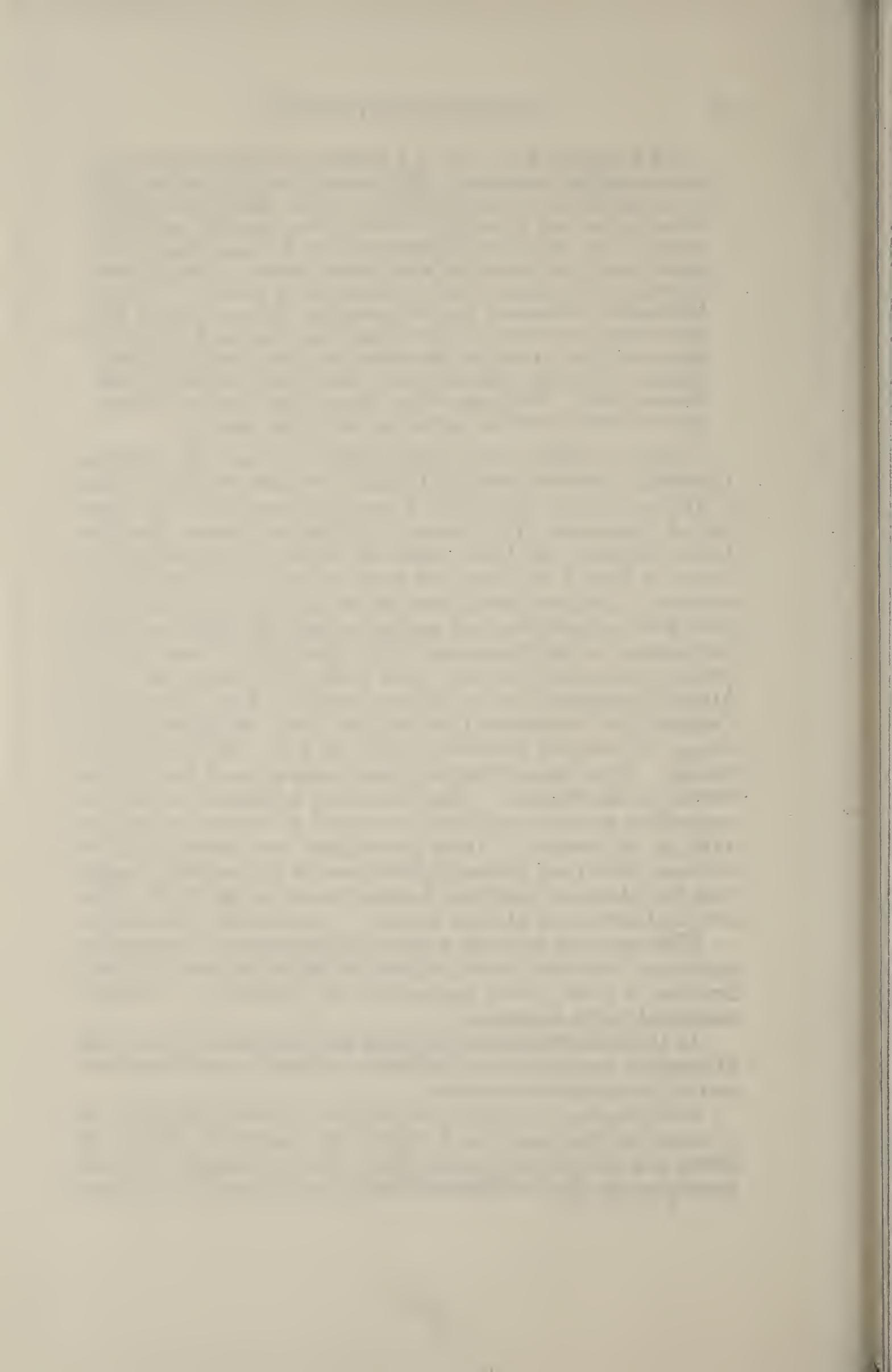
"To describe him now as I looked upon him then would seem a childish adoration. He was truly an elegant boy, tall of his age, figure in just proportion, brilliant black eyes, straight as an arrow and graceful in every move, amiable and kind-hearted. In our boyish athletic exercises he was ahead of his school, and in his studies he was always perfect. I had a place in some of the classes, but he was always at the head. Every Wednesday afternoon was declamation; he was always the orator that we tried to imitate as *par excellence*, and a favorite piece with him, as well as the school, was the speech of Robert Emmet in his own defense before the English court that condemned him. He spoke other pieces, but the boys always were delighted when he spoke and acted this piece."

Personal tributes were paid Governor Seymour by President Cleveland, Governor David B. Hill of New York, the Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, the Hon. Roswell P. Flower, Governor Colin M. Ingessoll of Connecticut, Dr. George L. Miller of Omaha, the Hon. Lucius Robinson, the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, Mayor William R. Grace of New York City, and hosts of others too numerous to mention. The press throughout the country spoke uniformly of a great loss, and addresses and resolutions upon his death came from the ministers of the churches of Utica, the Oneida County bar, the citizens of Deerfield, the New York Produce Exchange, the Young Men's Democratic Club of Albany, the New York delegation in Congress, the Manhattan Club of New York, the Mercantile Exchange, Watertown Jeffersonian Club, and the Oneida Historical Society. All of these tributes printed in the press of the day bore witness to his character. The New York legislature in joint session held a memorial service in the capital at Albany on April 14, 1886, in his memory. These proceedings were printed with the messages, letters and personal tributes read at that meeting, together with the address of the Hon. Erastus Brooks on the "Life, Character and Services of Horatio Seymour" prepared for that occasion.

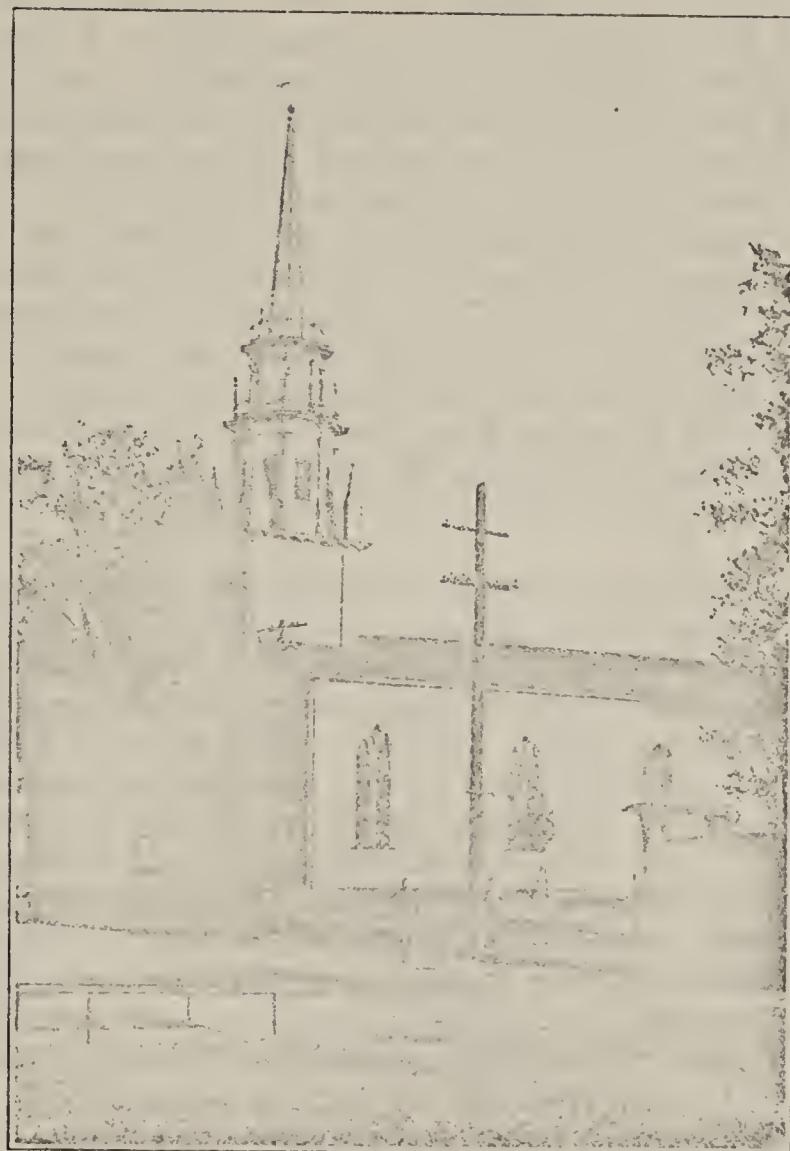
With men who have left a great impression upon a community, their spirit lives after them, and this we find is the case of Horatio Seymour in Utica, where anniversaries of his birth are frequently mentioned in the newspapers.

In 1910 the centennial of his birth was observed in Utica by the Democratic Association, and at their meeting his many virtues were recalled by prominent speakers.

On September 22, 1899, a bronze bust of Horatio Seymour was presented to the people of Utica by Dr. George L. Miller, his friend and admirer of Omaha, Neb., and was accepted for safe-keeping by the Oneida Historical Society, and it stands on the green



lawn adjoining their building in Utica, N. Y. Governor Theodore Roosevelt (later President of the United States) paid a tribute to Mr. Seymour on that occasion in the following words:



TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH, UTICA, NEW YORK.

(Courtesy of Mr. Edward W. Root.)

"In speaking of Governor Seymour as the man in public life I can not help reverting to his private character, and it is right that we should do so upon this occasion. While the virtues of men in private life can not atone for the misconduct of men in public life, it is emphatically true that the really great public man must be one who is decent, upright and one who practices the laws of uprightness in his private life. This great republic has cause to be proud of the efforts of great men, men who are good citizens, men who are good fathers and good hus-



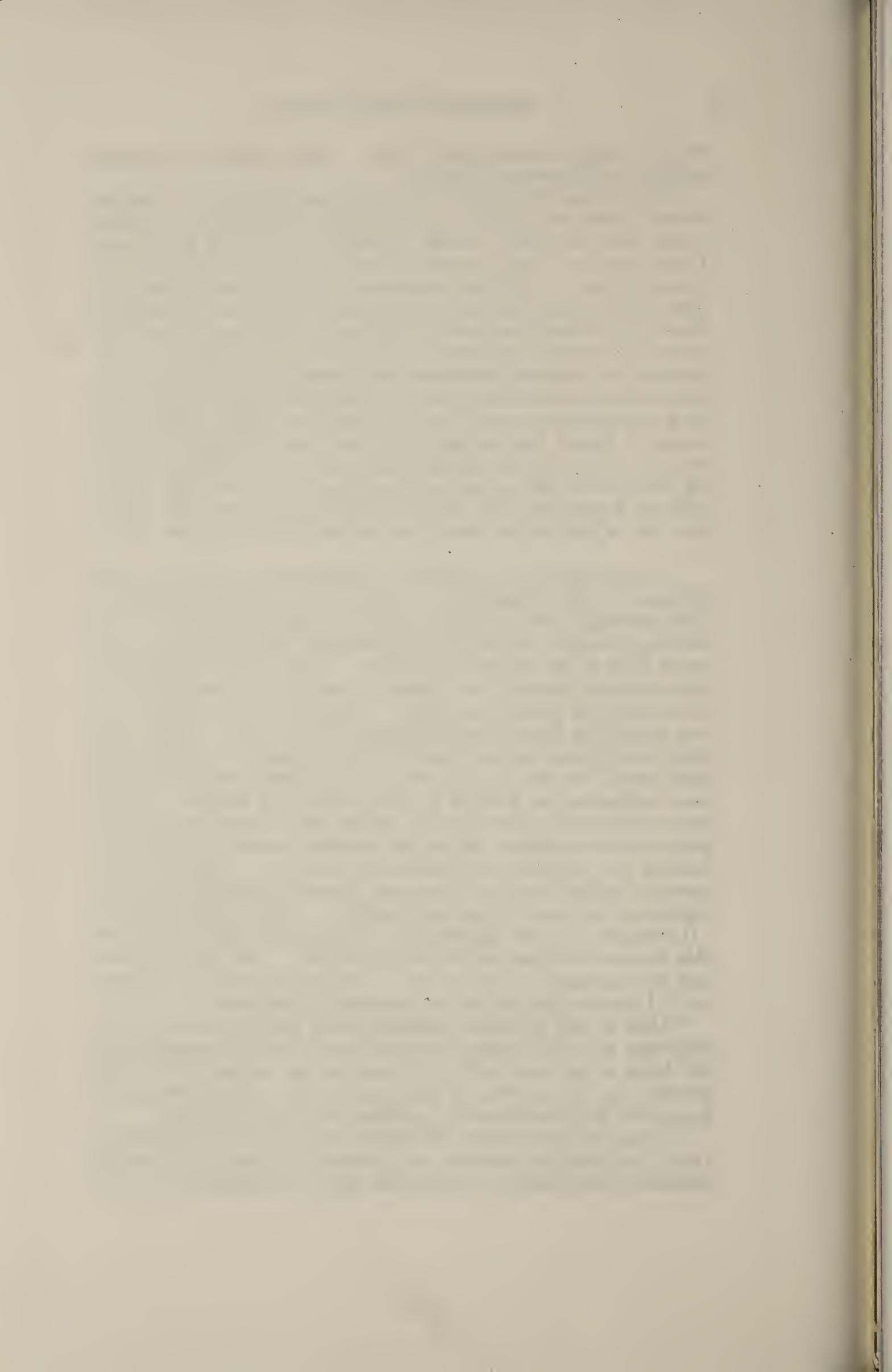
bands. They are good public men. They could not be good public men if it were otherwise.

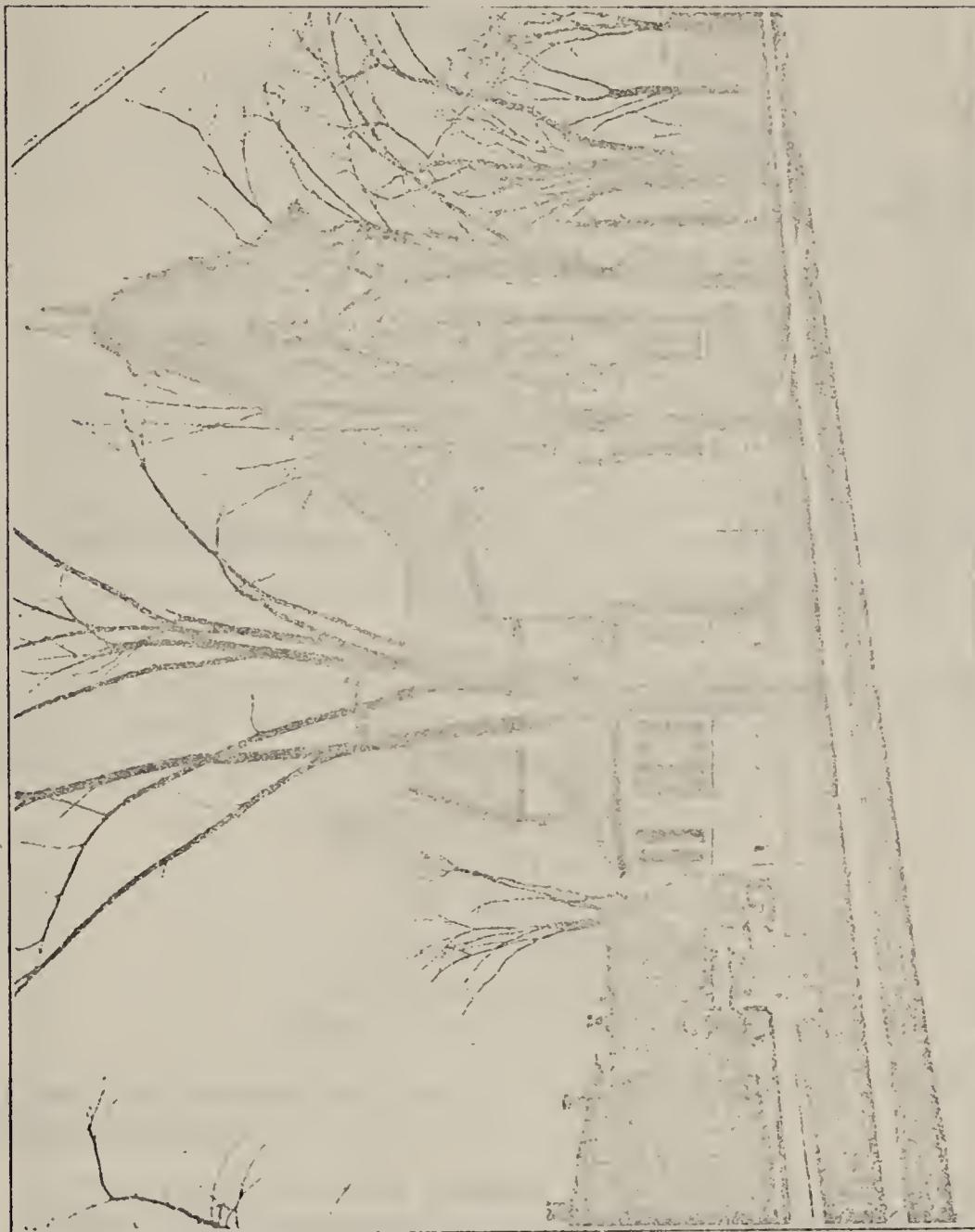
"One thing that first struck me when I entered or rather when I went into politics—I was about to say when I entered public life years ago, was the reverence with which every man I met who had been associated with Governor Seymour, referred to him. I had just come out of college, and I knew but little of the political history of the state, but it made an impression on me when I was in the legislature, to hear man after man speak of Governor Seymour with a certain reverence as a man from whose presence meanness and baseness shrank away. I made up my mind at that time that such was a pretty good kind of a reputation to have, and if I had any public men in my family I hoped they would gain that kind of expression, because, if there is one shortcoming, one vice which is beyond all others—we all of us need to beware of it—that is the vice of hypocrisy—the vice of a man who pretends to be what he is not, of the man who says what he does not mean.

"I came across the other day a message sent by Governor Seymour to the legislature—a special or emergency measure. This message interested me because it had a bearing on the undying struggle for honesty and decency, which must ever go on as long as the republic continues. This message ought not to be without its effect, and I think I would like to read extracts. It was written March 31, 1863. It was at a time when there was a question about the public debt of the state. There were many troubles at the time and there was a question whether the debt would be paid in the money of the time, when the debt was contracted, or paid in a cheaper kind of money. There was a discussion as to whether money had depreciated or appreciated, and whether or not the bondholders were entitled to receive the payment of interest in currency. There was a question raised over which many honest men got puzzled. Governor Seymour did not get puzzled. This is what he said: 'It remains for the legislature to determine whether or not this interest shall be paid or its equivalent. The time is short and the question is a grave one. For my own part, in respect to it, I can see but one course consistent with honor.'

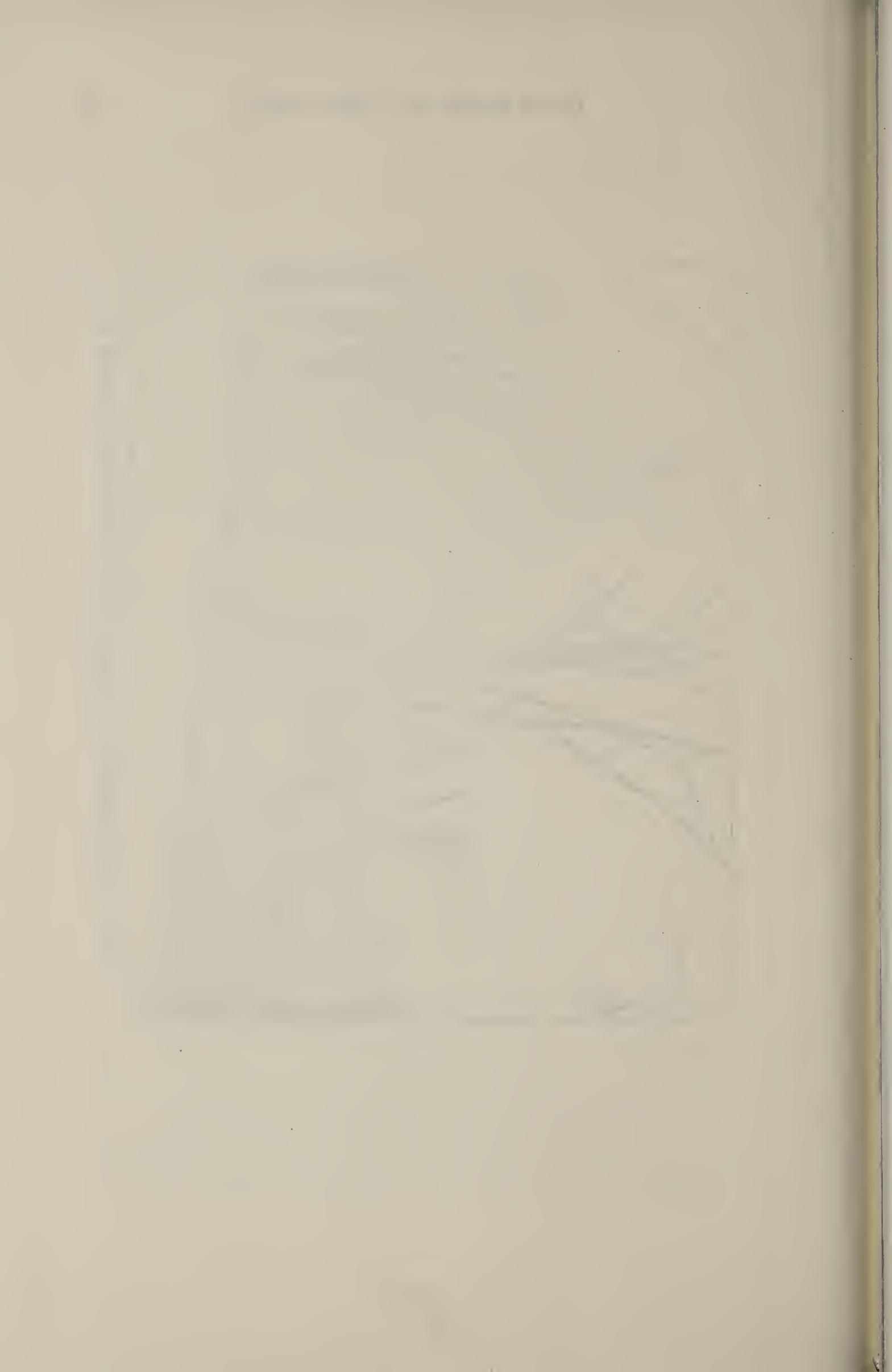
"One of the greatest features about Governor Seymour's character was that while he appreciated material prosperity as the basis of our national greatness, yet he realized that even greater was the question of right and wrong. Behind material prosperity he considered the question of moral uplifting.

"'Immediate provision should be made by you,' the message read, 'to meet the interest, as it always has been paid, and I, therefore, respectfully recommend that you suspend the ordi-





BUST OF HORATIO SEYMOUR ON THE LAWN OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT
UTICA, N. Y.



nary rules of procedure and immediately authorize the financial officers of the state to provide for making the payment in this manner. . . .”



HORATIO SEYMOUR SCHOOL, DEERFIELD, NOW NORTH UTICA, N. Y.,
DEDICATED 1923.

Still another tribute is that of the Deerfield (now North Utica Public school) named in his honor and dedicated in 1923 when a bronze tablet was unveiled bearing the inscription:

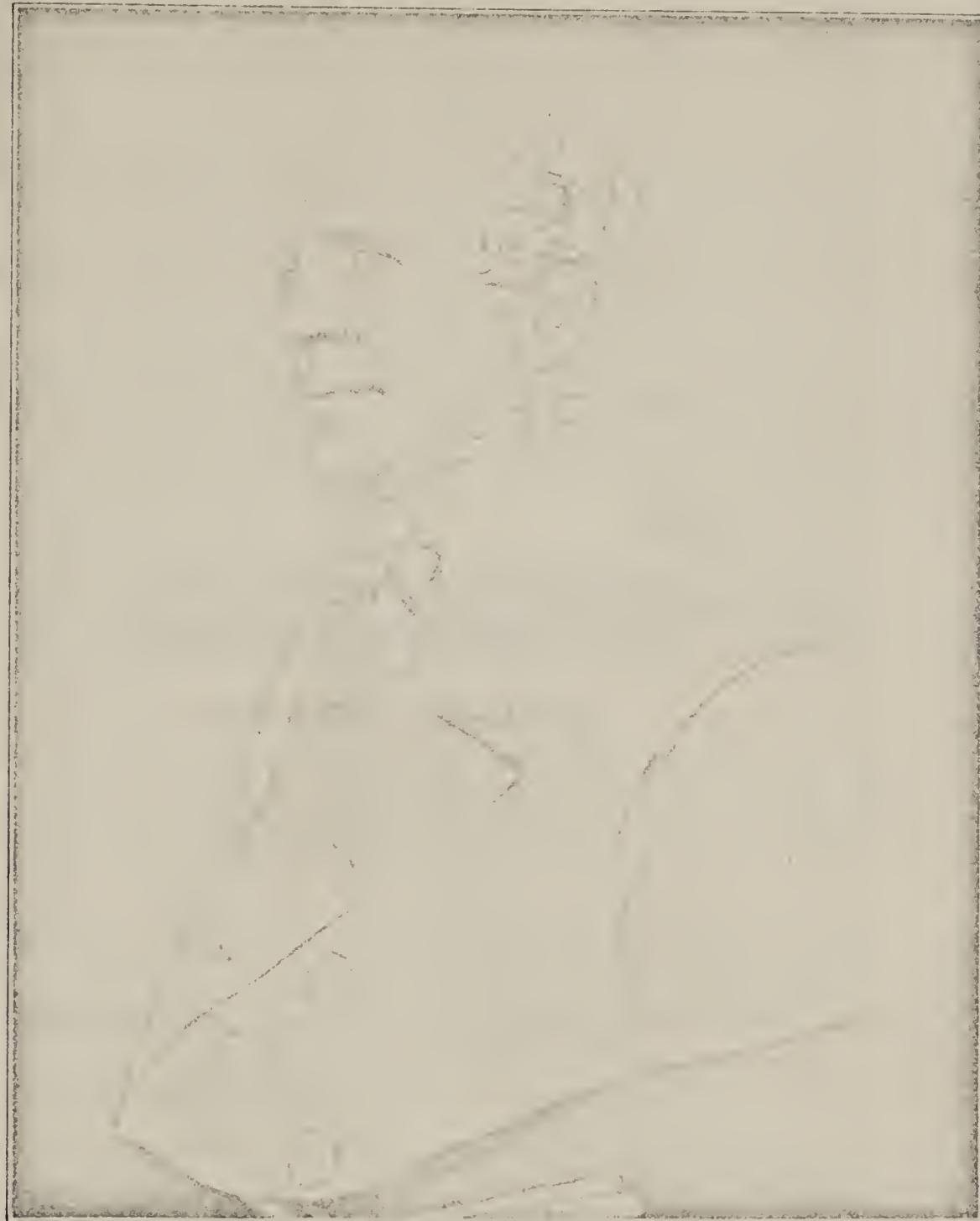
HORATIO SEYMOUR
ONCE PATHMASTER
OF DEERFIELD
TWICE GOVERNOR OF
THE STATE OF NEW YORK
1810 1886

Upon this occasion the Hon. P. C. J. De Angelis of the Board of Education said:

“It seemed to be the pleasure of his life to do kindnesses to others. The greatest trait of Seymour was his spotless integrity. The young men and women who shall come up from this school should take his life as an example . . .”

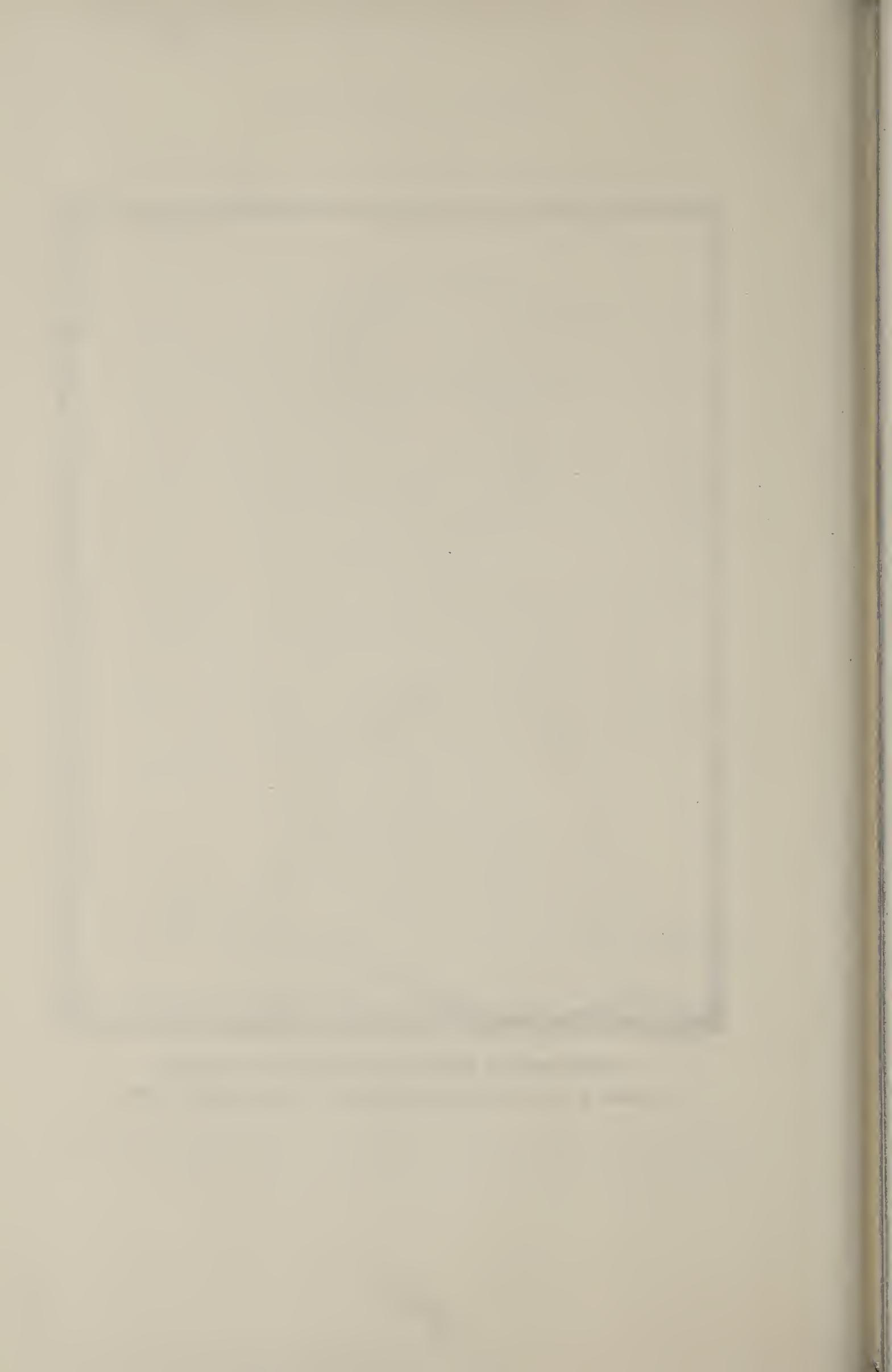
The tributes paid to him at his death throughout the state and country, the personal recollections of friends of his many good deeds, and the continued observances of the anniversary of his birth since his death in 1886 tell their own story of a beloved man.



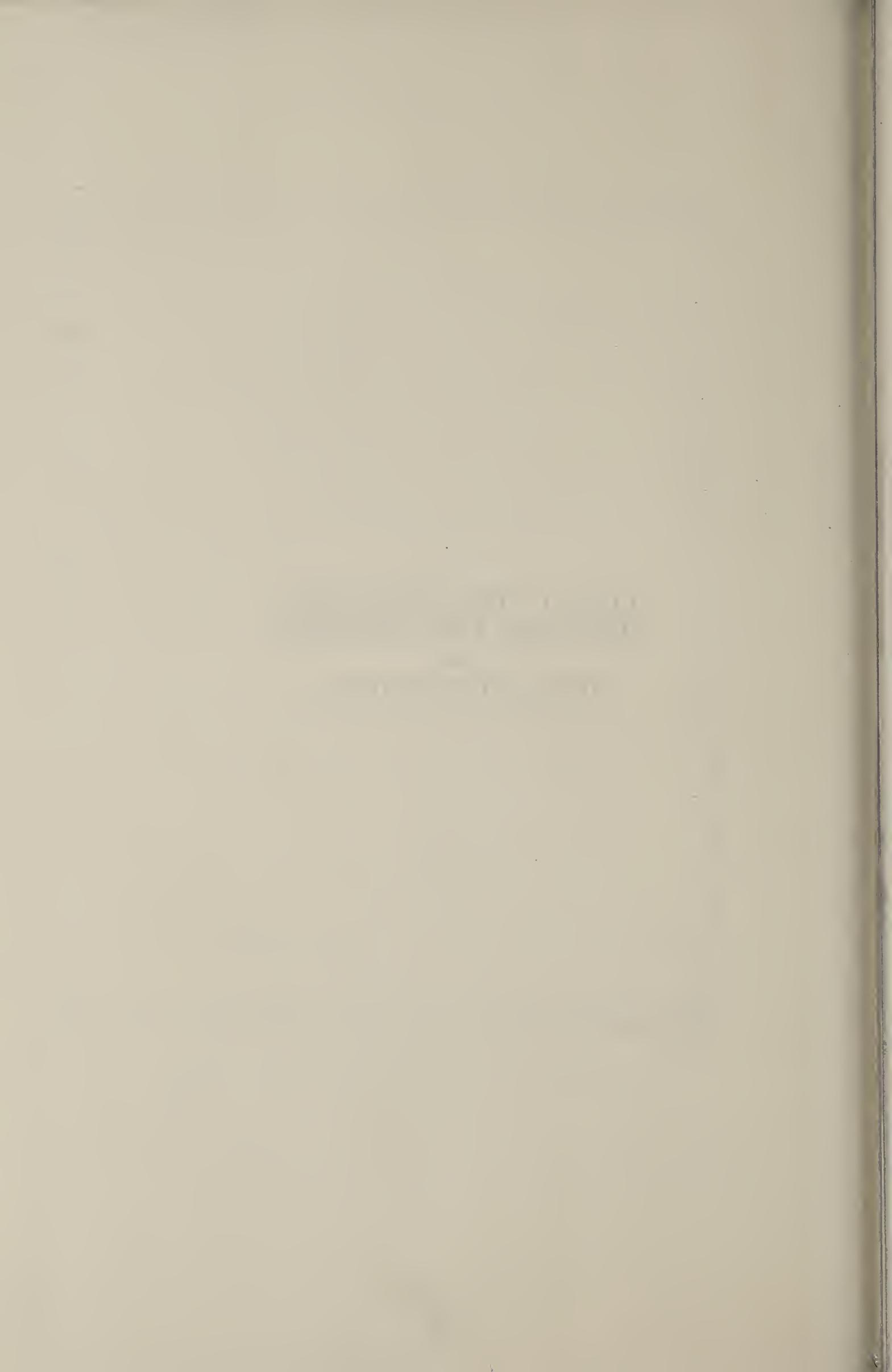


MARBLE BUST OF HORATIO SEYMOUR BY DAVID RICHARDS

Presented to The New York Historical Society by Mr. Walter G. Oakman in 1926



LIST OF THE ADDRESSES
SPEECHES AND WRITINGS
OF
HORATIO SEYMOUR



LIST OF THE ADDRESSES, SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF HORATIO SEYMOUR

The following list is compiled from the separately-printed speeches and addresses of Horatio Seymour, and from the newspaper clippings contained in the Seymour scrapbooks in the New York State Library at Albany, N. Y. While it comprises nearly two hundred items, it is not complete for the reason that some of the newspaper clippings of his speeches give no clue to date or place, and could not, therefore, be listed. The clippings also include many items not recorded here, such as veto messages, letters, special messages and accounts of personal interviews. Many of his campaign speeches are referred to but not printed, and in other instances only partial reports of them are printed. It is believed, however, that this compilation will serve as an index to every activity in his life, and his thoughts on many subjects are hereby made accessible.

All items, unless otherwise noted, are to be found in The New York Historical Society Library.

1844, April 23

State of New York, No. 177. In Assembly, April 23, 1844. Report of the Committee on Canals on so much of the Governor's message as relates to canals. 8vo, 71 pp. [By Horatio Seymour.]

1845

Remarks of the Hon. Horatio Seymour, Speaker of the House, in Committee of the Whole, on the message of the Governor. [Internal Improvements.] (Printed in the *Weekly Argus*, Albany, March 1, 1845.)

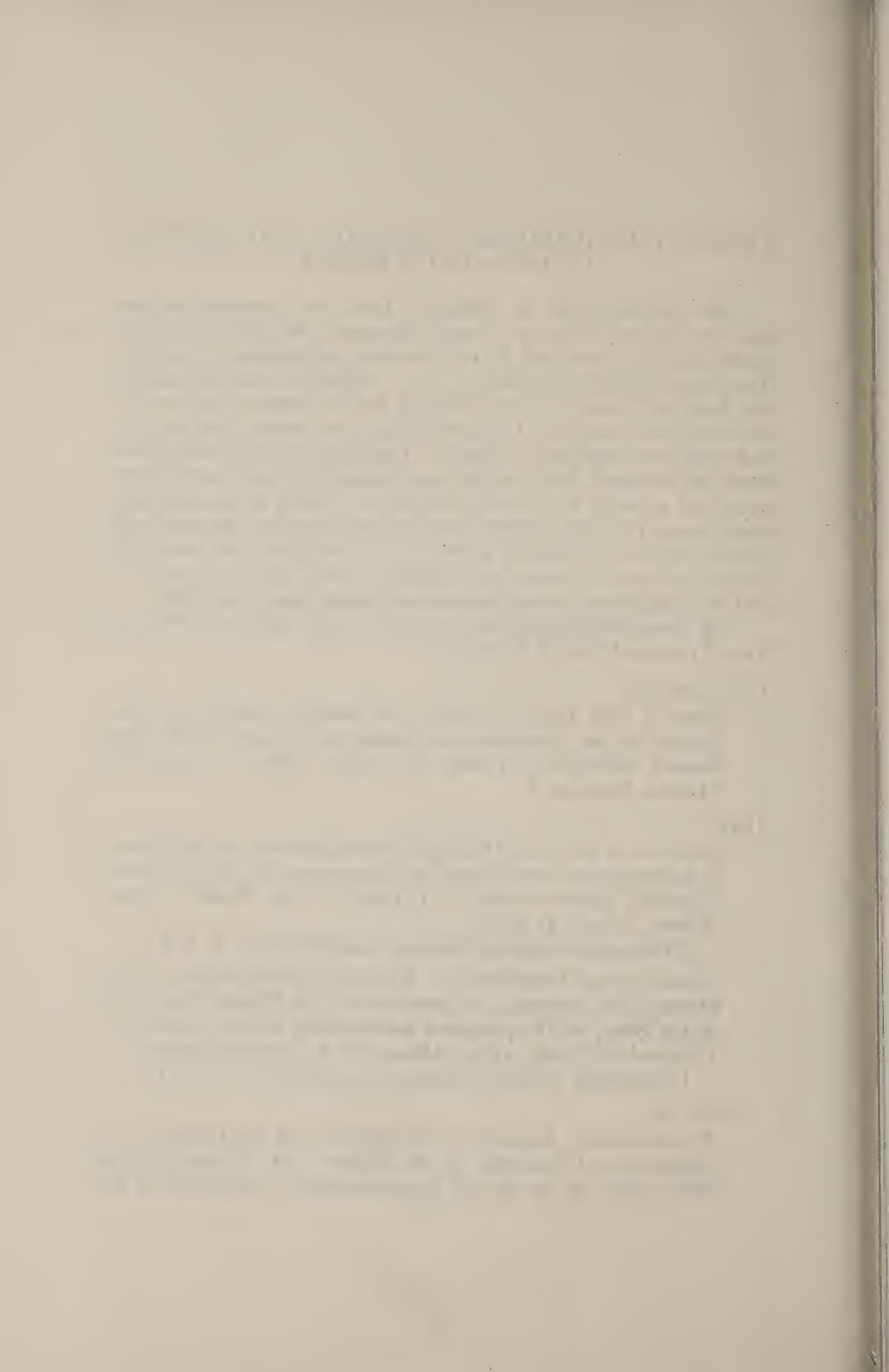
(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

Constitutional Amendments. Remarks of the Speaker [of the House] Mr. Seymour, in Committee of the Whole; Mr. Jones in the chair, on the proposed amendments to the constitution. (Printed in *Weekly Argus*, Albany, N. Y., April 26, 1845.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

April 19

A convention. Remarks of the Speaker [of the House], Mr. Seymour, in Committee of the Whole; Mr. Whitney in the chair, April 19, on the bill recommending a convention of the



people of the state. (Printed in *Weekly Argus*, Albany, N. Y., May 3, 1845.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1852

Governor Seymour's ante-election position on the Maine Law. Letter to the Corresponding Secretary of the New York Temperance Alliance.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

June 22

The anti-rent disturbances—message from the Governor.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

September 10

Address of the Hon. Horatio Seymour before the State Agricultural Society at Utica, Sept. 10, 1852.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1853

Canal Policy! Sketch of the remarks of the Hon. Horatio Seymour respecting the canal system of the state of New York. np, nd, 8vo, 8 pp.

(Horatio Seymour Collection, N. Y. S. L.)

January 4

Annual message of the Governor of the state of New York transmitted to the legislature, January 4, 1853. Albany, 1853, 8vo, 35 pp.

(Horatio Seymour Collection, N. Y. S. L.)

April 5

Governor's message—The Canals—Plan for their improvement.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

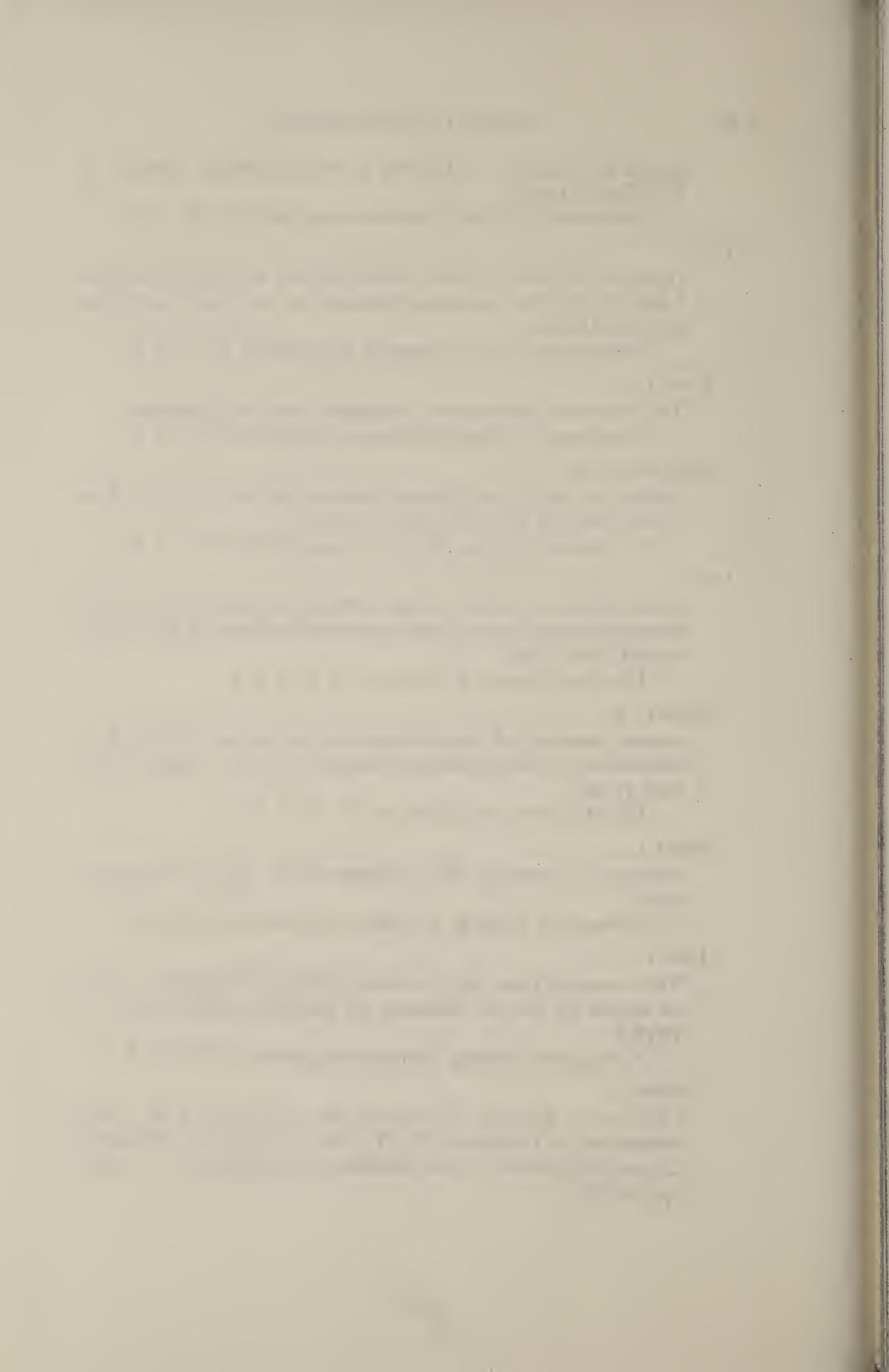
June 1

Veto message from the Governor [Horatio Seymour]. (Act to amend an Act on Business of Banking, passed April 18, 1838.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 7

[Address of Horatio Seymour at the dedication of the André monument at Tarrytown, N. Y., Oct. 7, 1853.] (Printed in Centennial Souvenir of the Monument Association. . . . 1881, pp. 25-37.)



October 19

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the National Horse Fair at Springfield, Mass., October 19, 1853.] (Printed in *Connecticut Valley Farmer and Mechanic* for November, 1853, p. 107.)

(Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1854, January 3

Annual message of the Governor of the state of New York [Horatio Seymour] transmitted to the legislature, January 3, 1854. Albany, N. Y., 1854, 8vo, 36 pp.

January 28

Remarks of Gov. Seymour at the semi-annual exhibition of the State Normal School.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

March 31

Objections to the Bill for the Suppression of Intemperance. Returned to the legislature. By Governor Seymour. np, nd, 8vo, 12 pp.

June 8

Addresses of John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., and his Excellency, Governor Horatio Seymour, delivered before the Clinton Hall Association and Mercantile Library Association . . . held in the Church of the Puritans, Union Square, on the evening of 8th June, 1854. New York, 1854, 8vo, pp. 25-29. (Extracts printed in David G. Croly's "Seymour and Blair . . .," N. Y., 1868, pp. 39-41.)

1855, January 1

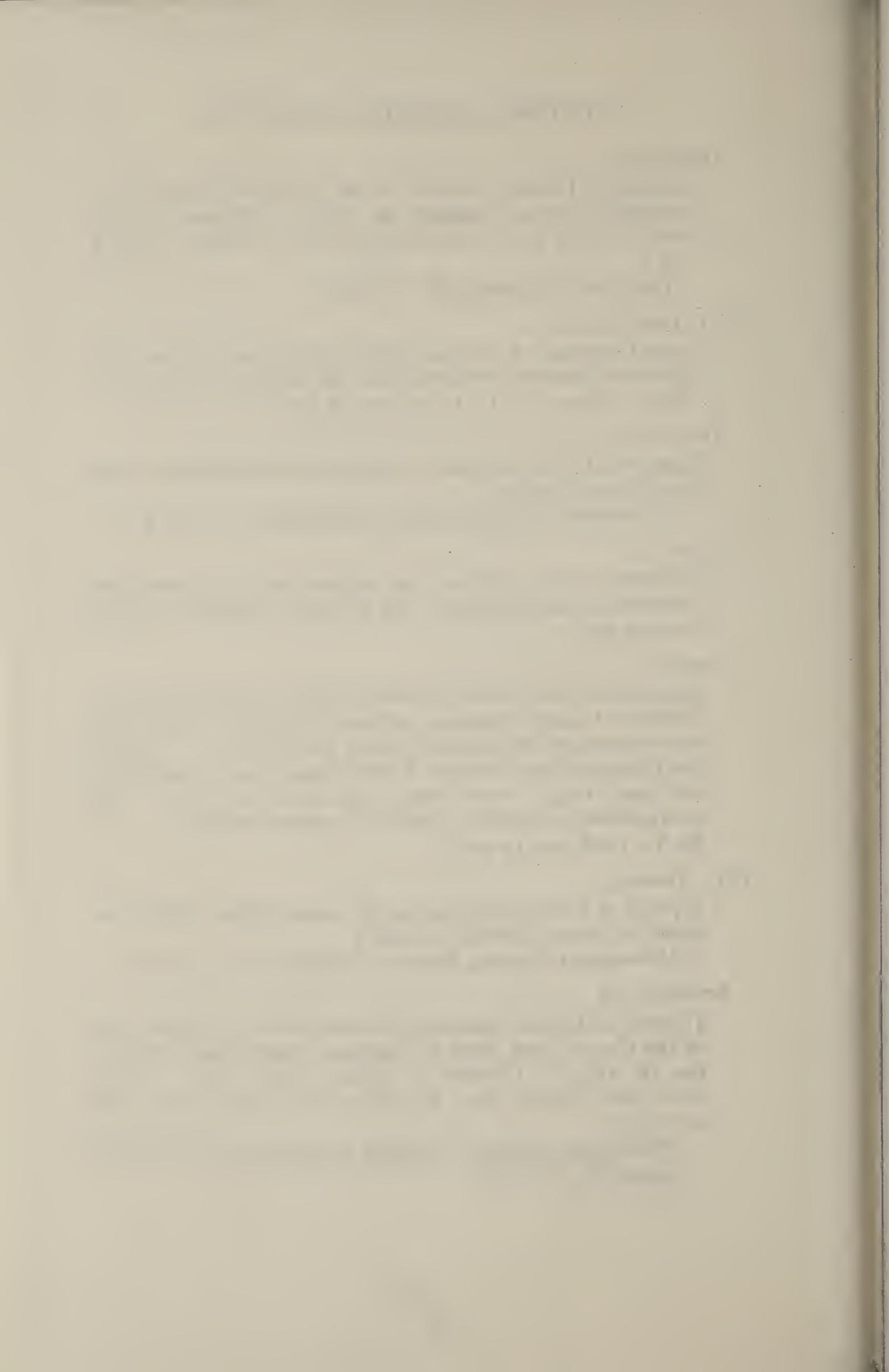
[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the inauguration of Governor Clark in Albany, January 1, 1855.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

September 28

[Speech of Horatio Seymour delivered before the Democrats of the City of New York at Tammany Hall, Friday, September 28, 1855.] (Printed in *Albany Argus*, Oct. 1, 1855; *New York Herald*, Sept. 29, 1855; *New York Times*, Sept. 29, 1855.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.; also in N. Y. P. L.)



October

Speech of Hon. Horatio Seymour at the Democratic Mass Meeting at the Eagle Street Theatre, Buffalo, N. Y.
(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

November 2

A review of an address delivered by ex-Governor Seymour at Watertown on the evening of Nov. 2, 1855. (Printed in a Watertown newspaper of Nov. 21, 1855.)
(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1856

[Speech of Horatio Seymour in Hough's Hall, Cazenovia, N. Y.] (Political.)
(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

A lecture on the Topography and History of New York by Horatio Seymour, Utica, N. Y., 1856. 8vo, 41 pp.

January

[Lecture of Horatio Seymour at a meeting of the New York Geographical Society, Thursday, January 1856, Chapel of the University, New York City.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

April 3

[Letter of Horatio Seymour to C. Comstock in reference to his name before the Democratic National Convention to be held at Cincinnati in June 1856.] (Printed in *Utica Daily Observer*, May 24, 1856.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

July 4

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Springfield, Mass., July 4, 1856—Political.] (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour . . .* New York, 1868, pp. 1-23; also in *Campaign Courier . . . Extra . . .* Buffalo, Sept. 4, 1856, 8vo, 8 pp.)

(Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

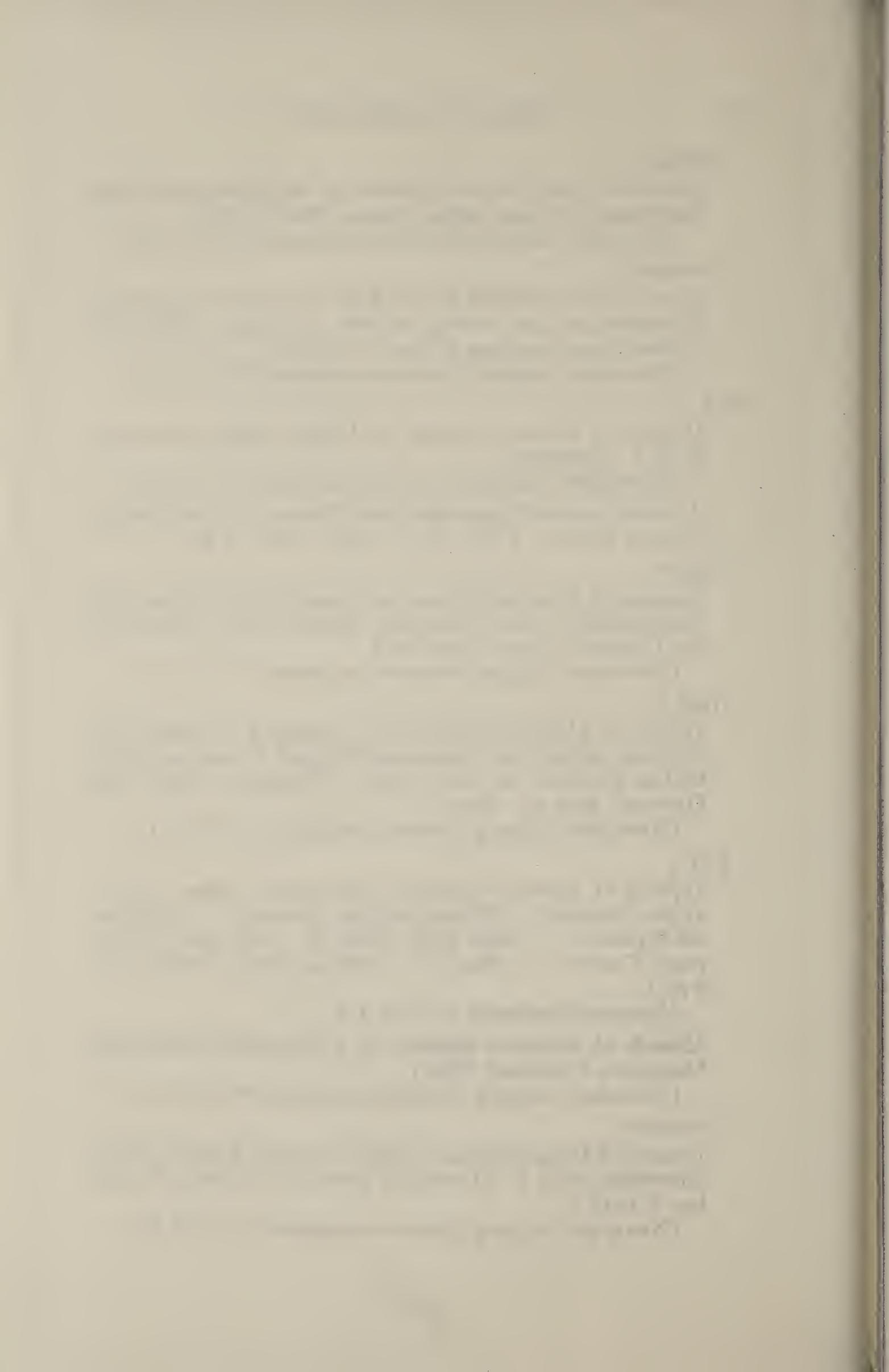
[Speech of Governor Seymour at a Democratic Ratification Meeting in Cleveland, Ohio.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

November

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the City Hall, Detroit, Mich., November, 1856.] (Printed in *Detroit Free Press*, November ?, 1856.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



1857, October 6

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Ratification Meeting of the Democratic Union Club at the Academy of Music, New York City, Oct. 6, 1857.] (Printed in *New York Daily News*, Oct. 7, 1857.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 12

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at a Democratic Ratification Meeting at Tammany Hall, Oct. 12, 1857.] (*New York Daily News*, Oct. 13, 1857.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1858, July 16

[Speech of Horatio Seymour in hall of the House of Representatives, Lansing, Mich., July 16, 1858.] (Printed in *State Journal*, Lansing, July 22, 1858.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

September 15

[Speech of Horatio Seymour on taking the Chair at the Democratic State Convention at Syracuse, Sept. 15?, 1858.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1859, January 7

[Correspondence of Horatio Seymour with John A. King in reference to pardoning power of the Governor.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

August 24

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Concert Hall, St. Paul, Minn., before the Young Men's Democratic Union Club.]

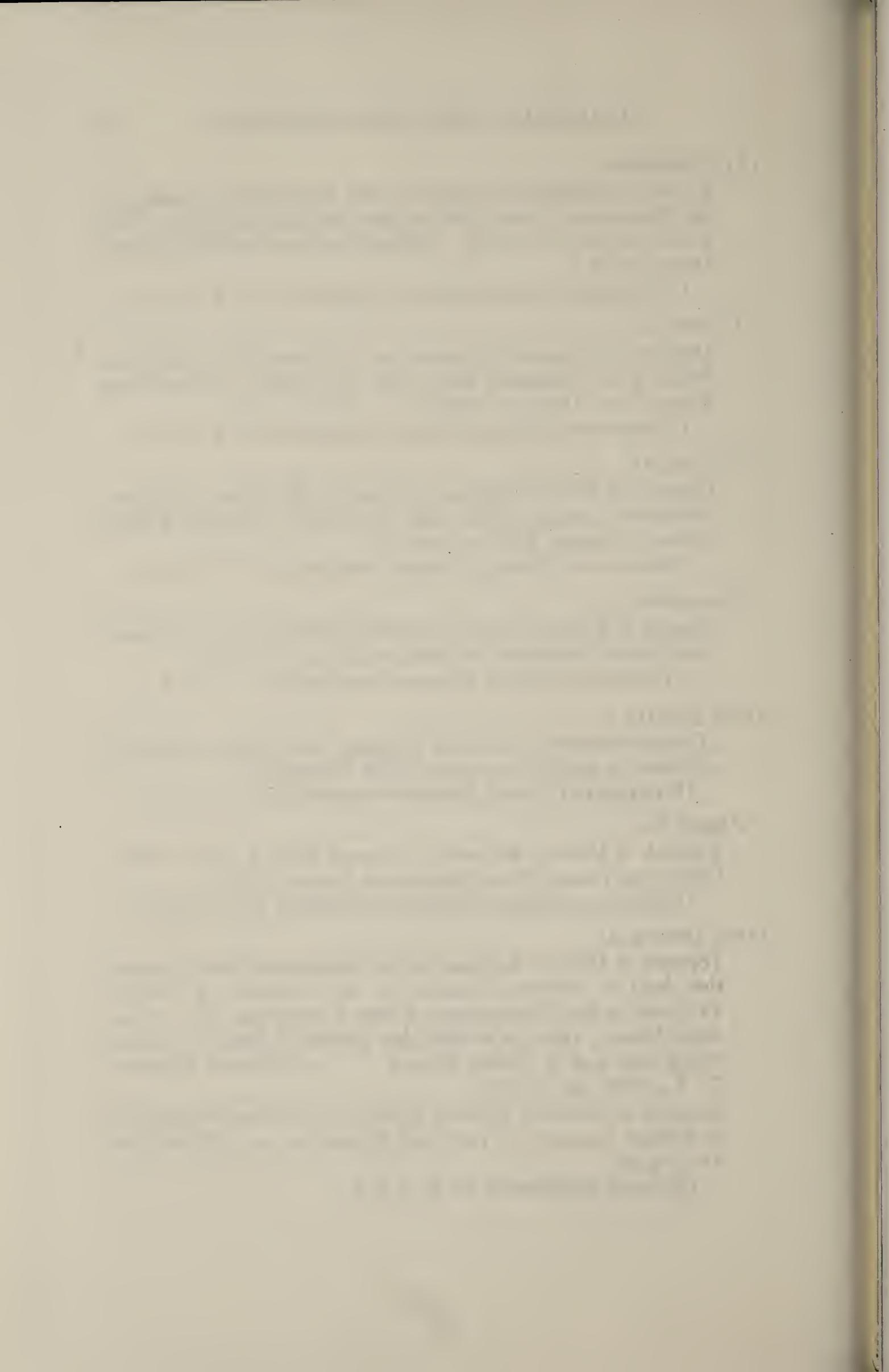
(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1861, January 31

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Democratic State Convention held in Albany, January 31 and February 1, 1861.] (Printed in the Proceedings of that Convention, pp. 15-24, 8vo, Albany, 1861; also with his speech of Sept. 10, 1862, which see; and in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 22-32.)

Speeches of the Hon. Horatio Seymour at the Conventions held at Albany, January 31, 1861 and September 10, 1862, np, nd, 8vo, 13 pp.

(Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



July 4

[Speech of Governor Seymour at Madison, Wis., on July 4, 1861 on loyalty to the Union.] (Not printed but referred to in Croly's *Life of Seymour* and other sources.)

October 28

Speech of Hon. Horatio Seymour at the Democratic Ratification Meeting, Utica, Oct. 28, 1861, np, nd, 8vo, 8 pp. (Also printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 32-43.)

1862, January 8

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Vienna [N. Y.] Agricultural Society, Vienna, Jan. 8, 1862.] (Printed in the Rome, N. Y., Sentinel, Jan. 15, 1862.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

January 23

Address of Horatio Seymour before the New York State Military Association, Jan. 23, 1862. 8vo, np 12 pp. (Also printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 351-358.)

July 14

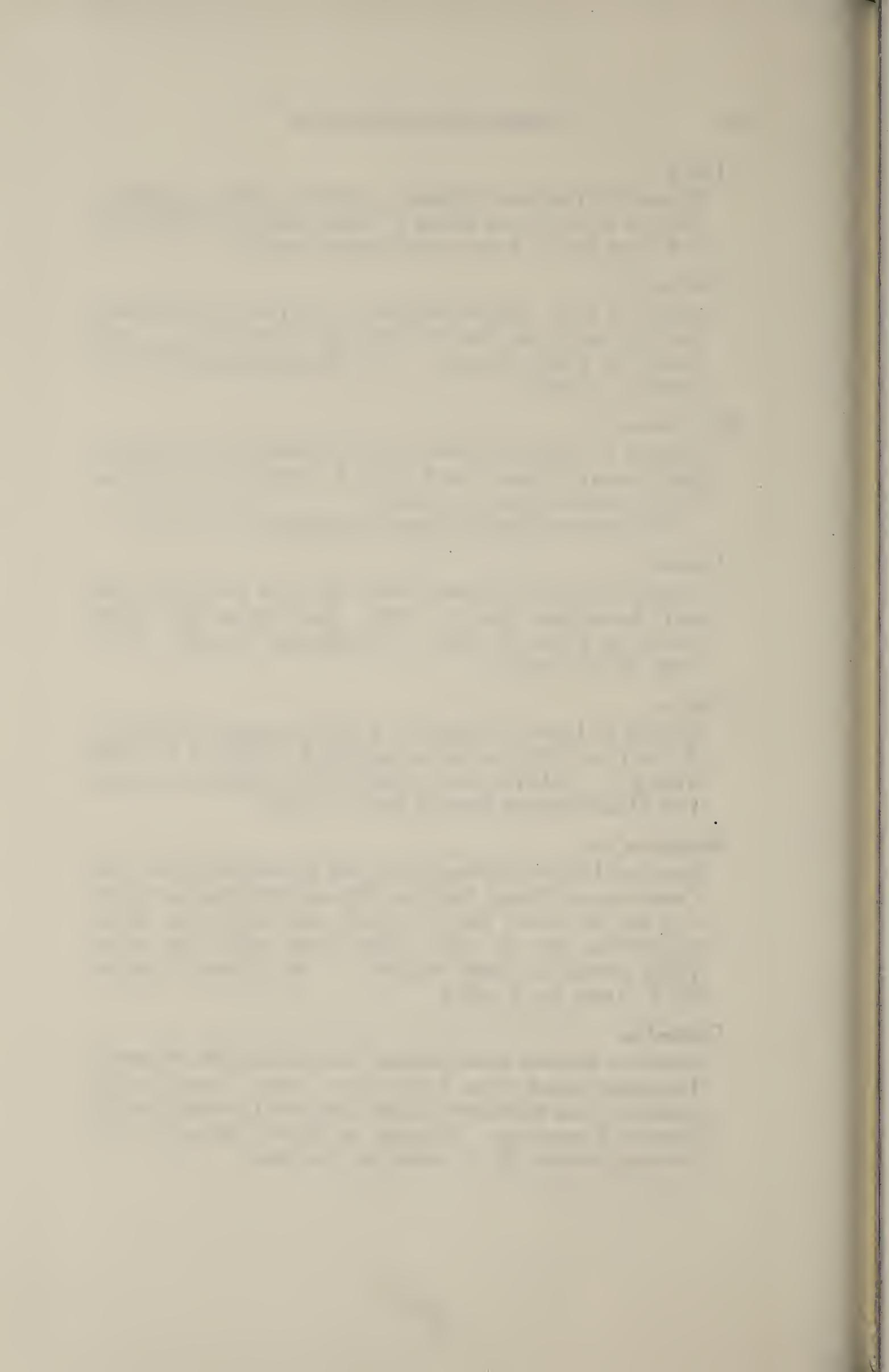
[Speech of Horatio Seymour at a public meeting at Utica, N. Y., July 14, 1862, to aid enlistments.] (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 43-45.) (See *Utica Morning Herald*, July 15, 1862.)

September 10

Speech of Horatio Seymour before the Democratic Union State Convention at Albany, Sept. 10, 1862, on receiving the nomination for Governor; also his speech delivered at the Albany Convention, Jan. 31, 1861. New York, 1862, 8vo, 15 pp. (Also printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 45-58.)

October 4

Governor Seymour at the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, Oct. 4, 1862. Speech on the question of the withdrawal of the Southern Dioceses from the General Convention. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 358-360.)



October 13

Speech of the Hon. Horatio Seymour at the Democratic Ratification Meeting at [Cooper Institute] New York, Oct. 13, 1862. np, nd, 8vo, 10 pp. (Also printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 58-74.)

October 22

Speech of Hon. Horatio Seymour at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, October 22, 1862. np, nd, 8vo, 7 pp. (Also printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 75-84.)

October 27

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at a Democratic Rally held in Rochester N. Y., Oct. 27, 1862.] (Printed in *Union and Advertiser*, Oct. 28, 1862.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

November 6

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Utica, N. Y., Nov. 6, 1862, after his election as Governor.] (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 85-87.)

November 15

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting in Rome, N. Y., Nov. 15, 1862. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 360-365.) (Also in *The Sentinel*, Rome, N. Y., Nov. 18, 1862.)

1863, January 1

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at his inauguration as Governor of New York, Jan. 1, 1863.]

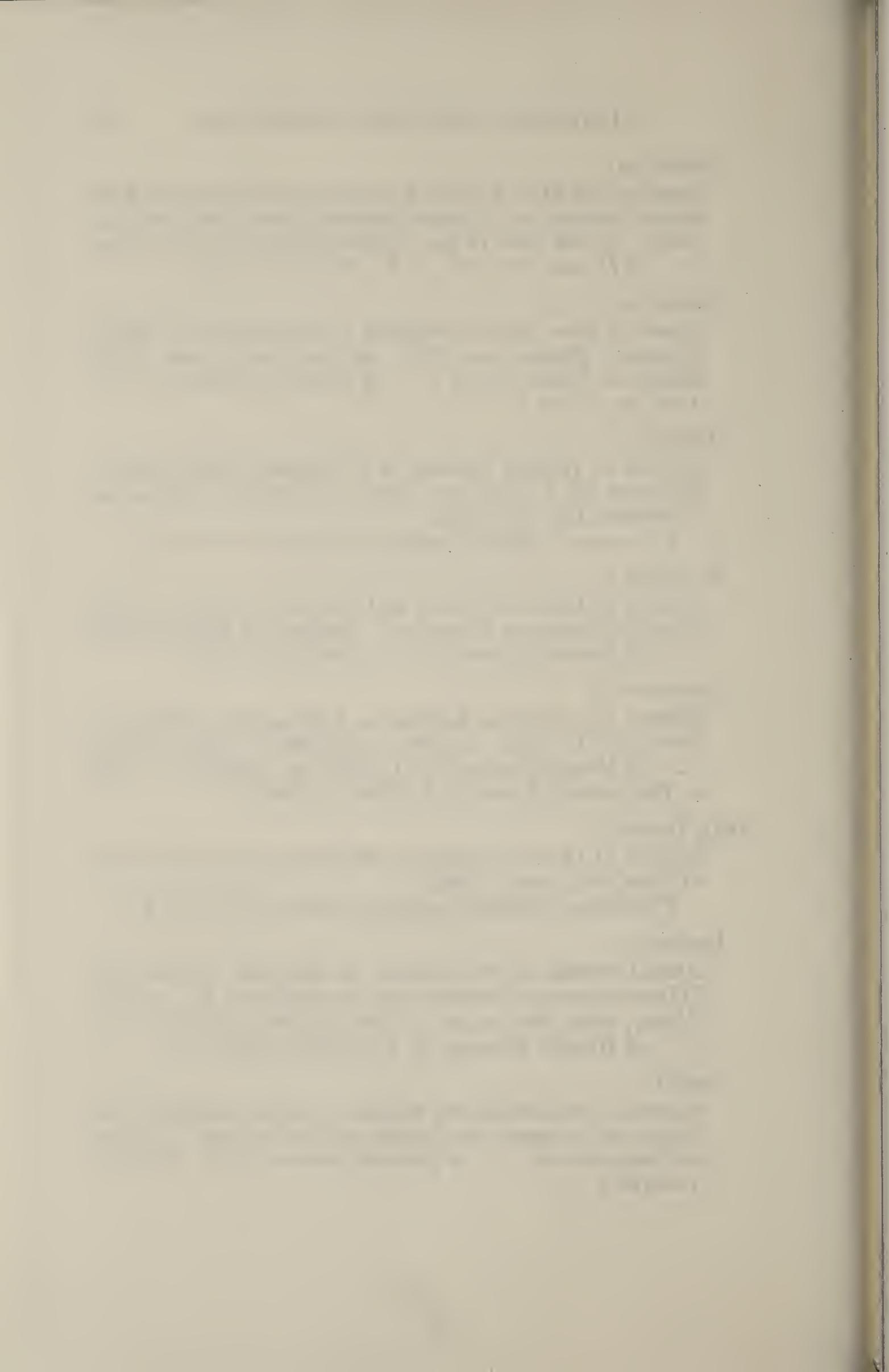
(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

January 7

Annual message of the Governor of the State of New York [Horatio Seymour] transmitted to the legislature Jan. 7, 1863. Albany, 1863, 8vo, 44 pp. (Also printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 88-105.)

April 13

Governor Seymour and the Soldiers. Special Message to the legislature in regard to allowing soldiers to vote. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 106-108.)



April 24

Governor Seymour and the Soldiers. Special message vetoing the Soldiers Franchise Bill. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 108-110.)

April 24

Speech of Governor Seymour at the presentation of Regimental Colors to the State Legislature, April 24, 1863. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 110-111.)

May 7

[Horatio Seymour's veto of the Broadway Railroad Bill.]
(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

May 16

[Letter of Horatio Seymour to the Vallandingham Meeting held in Albany, N. Y., May 16, 1863.]
(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

July 4

[Speech of] Gov. Seymour at the Academy of Music, New York, July 4, 1863. (Political.) (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, New York, 1868, pp. 118-124.)

July 14

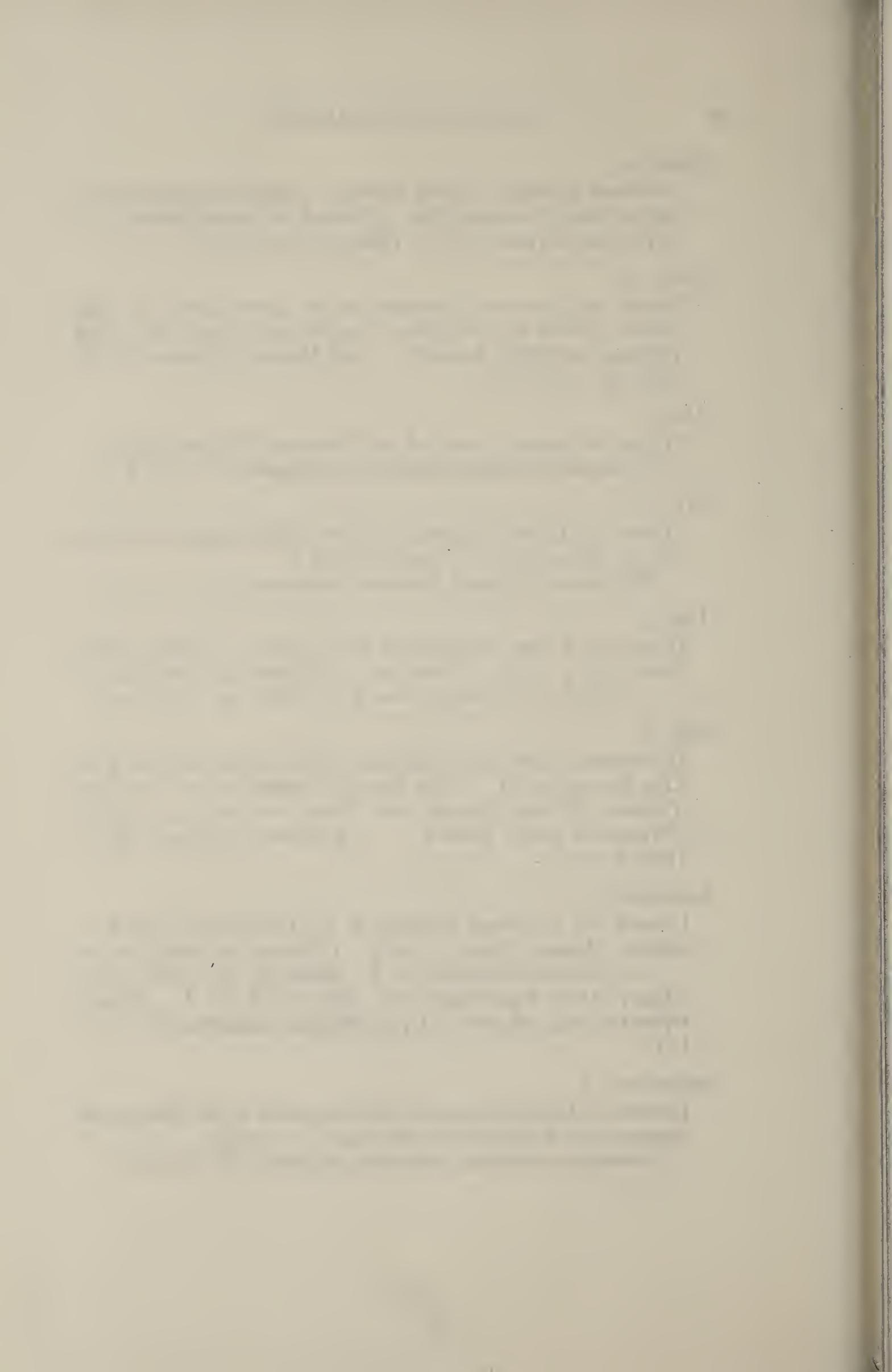
[Speeches of Governor Seymour to the rioters in New York City, July 14, 1863. "My Friends" speech in the *New York Tribune, World, Herald and Times*, of July 15, 1863.]
(Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, p. 127.)

September 9

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at the Democratic State Convention, Albany, Sept. 9, 1863. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 365-369; also in Albany *Atlas Argus*, Sept. 11, 1863, N. Y. P. L. Printed separately, np, nd, 8vo, 12 pp., Seymour collection, N. Y. S. L.)

September 19

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the opening of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad, Albany, Sept. 19, 1863.]
(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



October 26

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting in Buffalo, N. Y., October 26, 1863. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 160-168.)

October 27

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Great Mass Meeting at Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 27, 1863.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 28

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting at Syracuse, N. Y., Oct. 28, 1863. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 168-176.)

October 29

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at Democratic Meeting held at Utica, N. Y., October 29, 1863. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 176-182.)

October 31

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting held at the Cooper Institute, New York, October 31, 1863. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 183-197.)

November 19

[Remarks of] Governor Seymour at the dedication of the Gettysburg Cemetery, Nov. 9, 1863. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, p. 370.)

November 27

Letter from Governor Seymour declining an invitation to a Democratic Meeting in New York. (Political.) (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 370-372.)

1864, January 5

Governor Seymour's second annual message [to the legislature of the State of New York.] (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 198-212.)

February 22

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Army Relief Bazaar, in Albany, N. Y.] (Printed in "The Heroes of Albany . . . by Rufus W. Clark," 1867, pp. 31-34; also in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, New York, 1868, pp. 212-215.)

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Washington birthday celebration by the 25th Regiment, N. G., assisted by the Hibernian Society of Albany at Tweddle Hall.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

March 1

Communication from the Governor, and the report of the Commission appointed by the President to determine and ascertain the Quota of this State under the different calls for troops. Transmitted to the legislature, March 1, 1864. Albany, 1864, 8vo, 18 pp.

April 22

Governor Seymour on the Payment of the Interest of the State Debt in Coin. Special message to the legislature. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 215-218.)

May 23

The Suspension of Democratic Newspapers in New York. Letters of Governor Seymour to District Attorney Hall. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 218-221.)

July 8

Governor Seymour and the Call for 12,000 Men for One Hundred Days. Orders and Appeals. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, 221-224.)

August

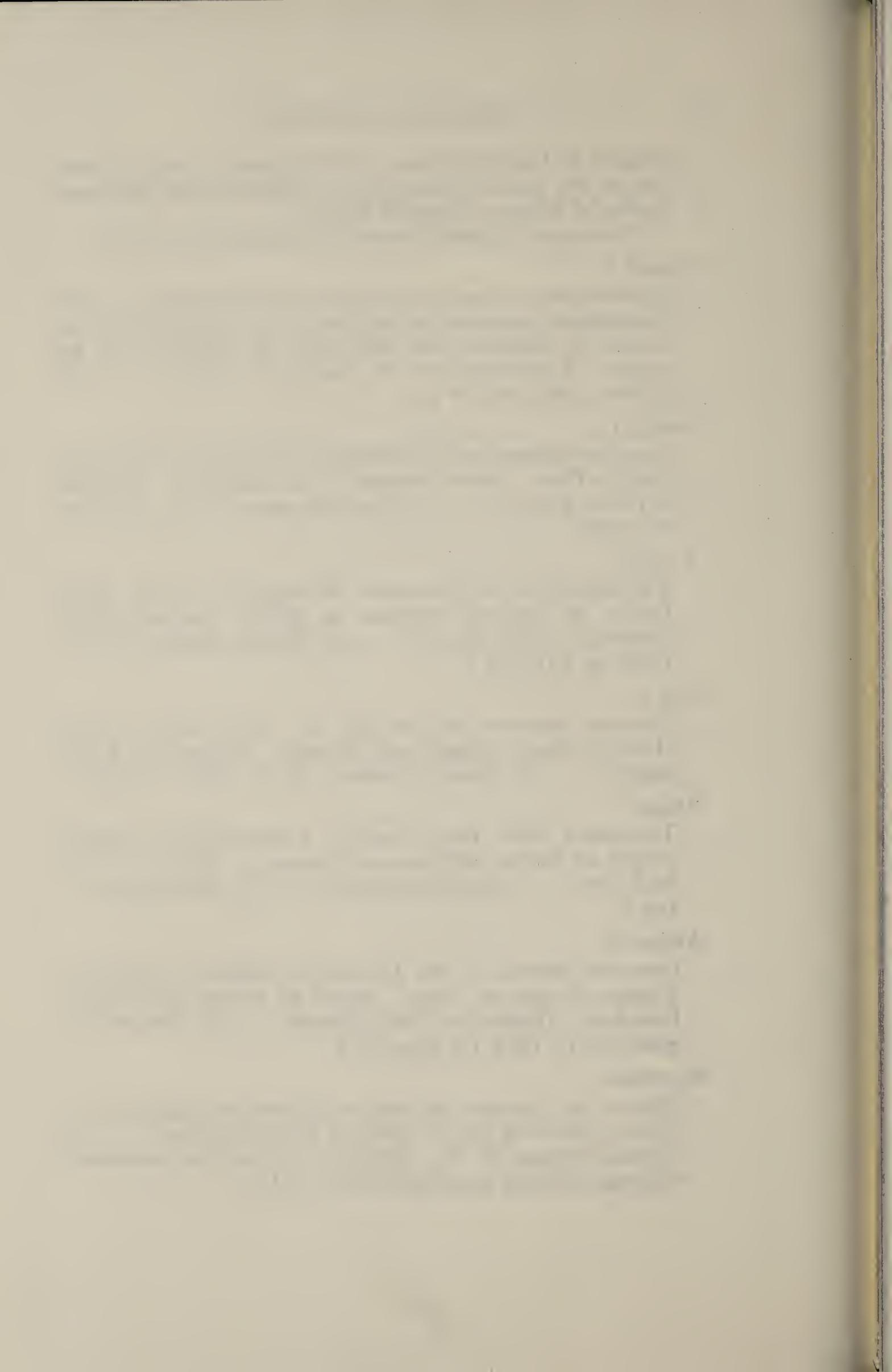
Threatened Raid from Canada. Correspondence between citizens of Buffalo and Governor Seymour. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 227-229.)

August 30

Governor Seymour at the Democratic National Convention, Chicago, August 30, 1864. Speech on taking the Chair as President. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 230-234.)

September 1

[Speech of Governor Seymour at Milwaukee, September 1, 1864. About the war.] (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 234-241; also newspaper clippings, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



September 8

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at New York, September 8, 1864, Ratification Meeting. [War and politics.] (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 241-244.)

October 1

Governor Seymour and the Labor Question. Letter defining his position in 1864 on the Eight Hour Law; and giving his views of the relations between currency and labor. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 373-374.)

October 4

Speech of Governor Seymour to the McClellan Legion, New York, October 4, 1864. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 246-247.)

October 5

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at Philadelphia, Oct. 5, 1864. [War and Politics.] (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 248-261.) (Also printed separately as campaign document No. 21, 8 pp.) Library of Congress; N. Y. S. L.

October 6

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Reading, Pa., Oct. 6, 1864 (political).] (Referred to but not printed in Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 7

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 7, 1864.] (Referred to but not printed in newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

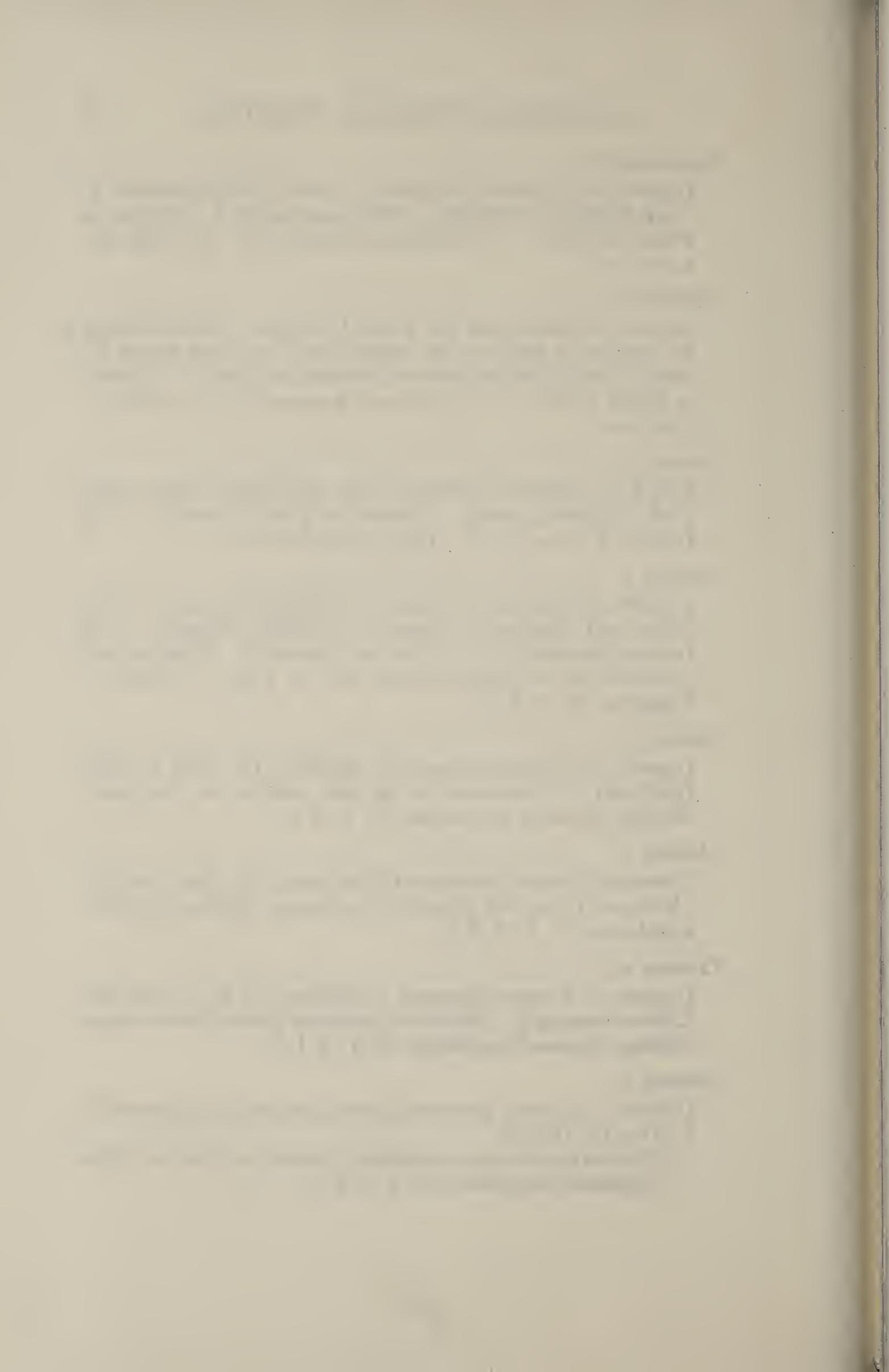
October 15?

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Elmira, N. Y., at the McClellan Meeting.] (Referred to but not printed in newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 17

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at mass meeting in Schoharie, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1864.]

(Newspaper clipping—*Schoharie Republican*, Oct. 20, 1864—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



October 18

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Delhi, N. Y., Oct. 18, 1864.]
(Conclusion only printed in newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 19

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at mass meeting at Unadilla, N. Y., Oct. 19, 1864.] (Referred to but not printed in newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

[Address of Horatio Seymour on "Education" to the teachers and students of the Delaware Literary Institute at Franklin, N. Y., Oct. 19, 1864.] (Referred to but not printed in newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 21

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Binghamton, N. Y., Oct. 21, 1864.] (Political.) (Referred to but not printed in newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October ?

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Olean, N. Y., October, 1864.] (Referred to but not printed in newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

November 5

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Utica, N. Y., Nov. 5, 1864] in the City Hall. (Referred to but not printed in newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1865, January 2

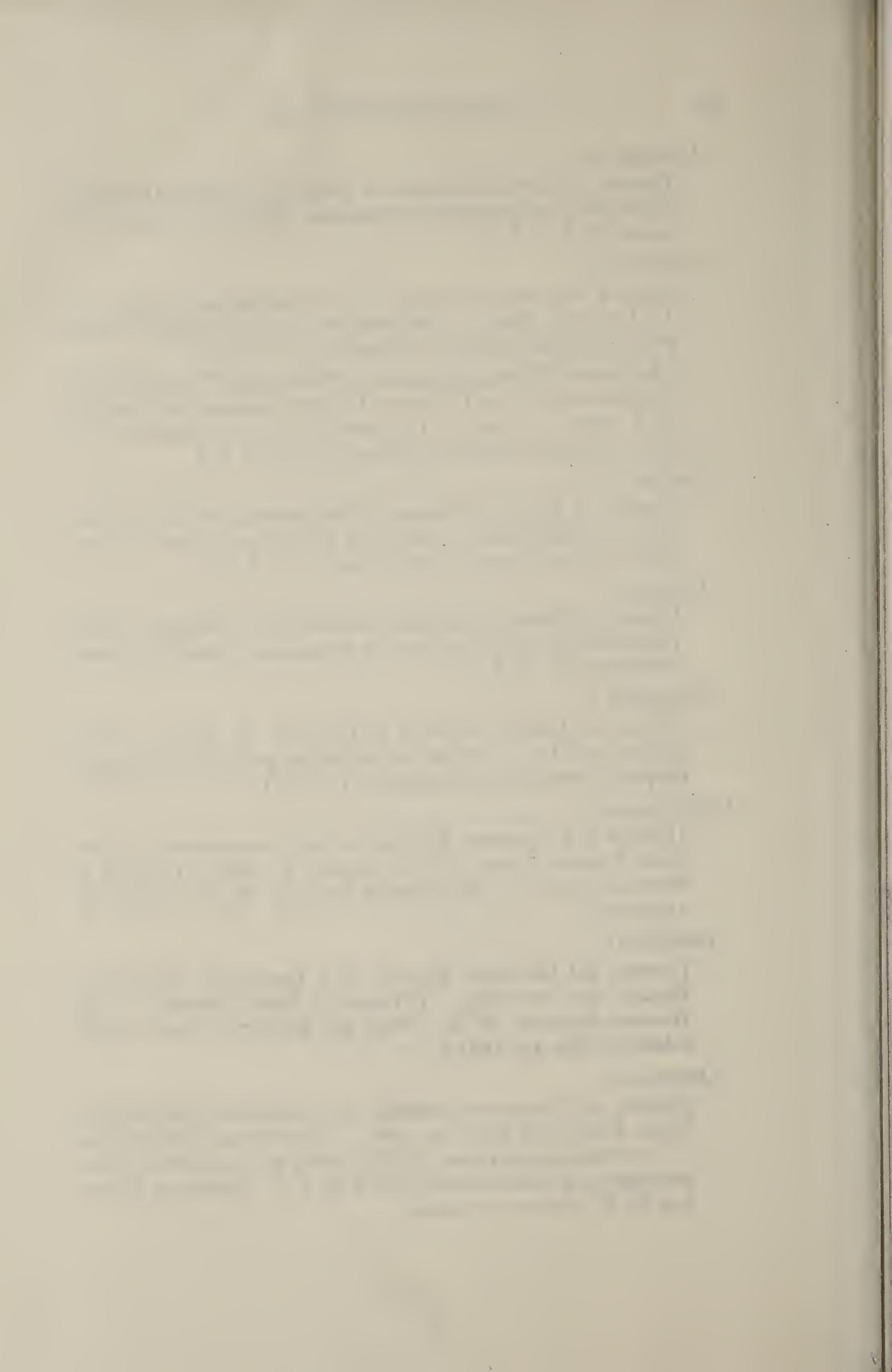
[Speech of] Governor Seymour at the Inauguration of Governor Fenton, Albany, N. Y., January 2, 1865. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 266-268.)

October 21

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting in Buffalo, Oct. 21, 1865. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 268-274; also in *Daily Observer*, Oct. 24, 1865.)

October 27

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at a Democratic Meeting at Seneca Falls, N. Y., Oct. 27, 1865. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 274-288; also in newspaper of Nov. 1, 1865, N. Y. S. L.) Speech at Waterloo, N. Y., the same evening.



1866, October 30

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at the Democratic National Union Meeting, Cooper Institute, New York, Oct. 30, 1866. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 288-298.)

1867, October 3

Speech of Horatio Seymour before the Democratic State Convention at Albany, October 3, 1867. np, nd, 8vo, 8 pp. (Also printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 298-309.)

1868, March 11

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at the Democratic State Convention, Albany, N. Y., March 11, 1868. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 309-322; also in "Speeches of ex-Gov. Horatio Seymour and Hon. Samuel J. Tilden before the Democratic State Convention at Albany, March 11, 1868," 16 pp., World Tract No. 1.) Library of Congress.

April 3

[Speech of] Governor Seymour at Bridgeport, Conn., April 3, 1868. (Political.) (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 374-384.)

June 25

Speech of ex-Gov. Horatio Seymour at the Cooper Institute, New York, June 25, 1868. np, nd, 8vo, 8 pp. (Also printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 322-334.)

July 6

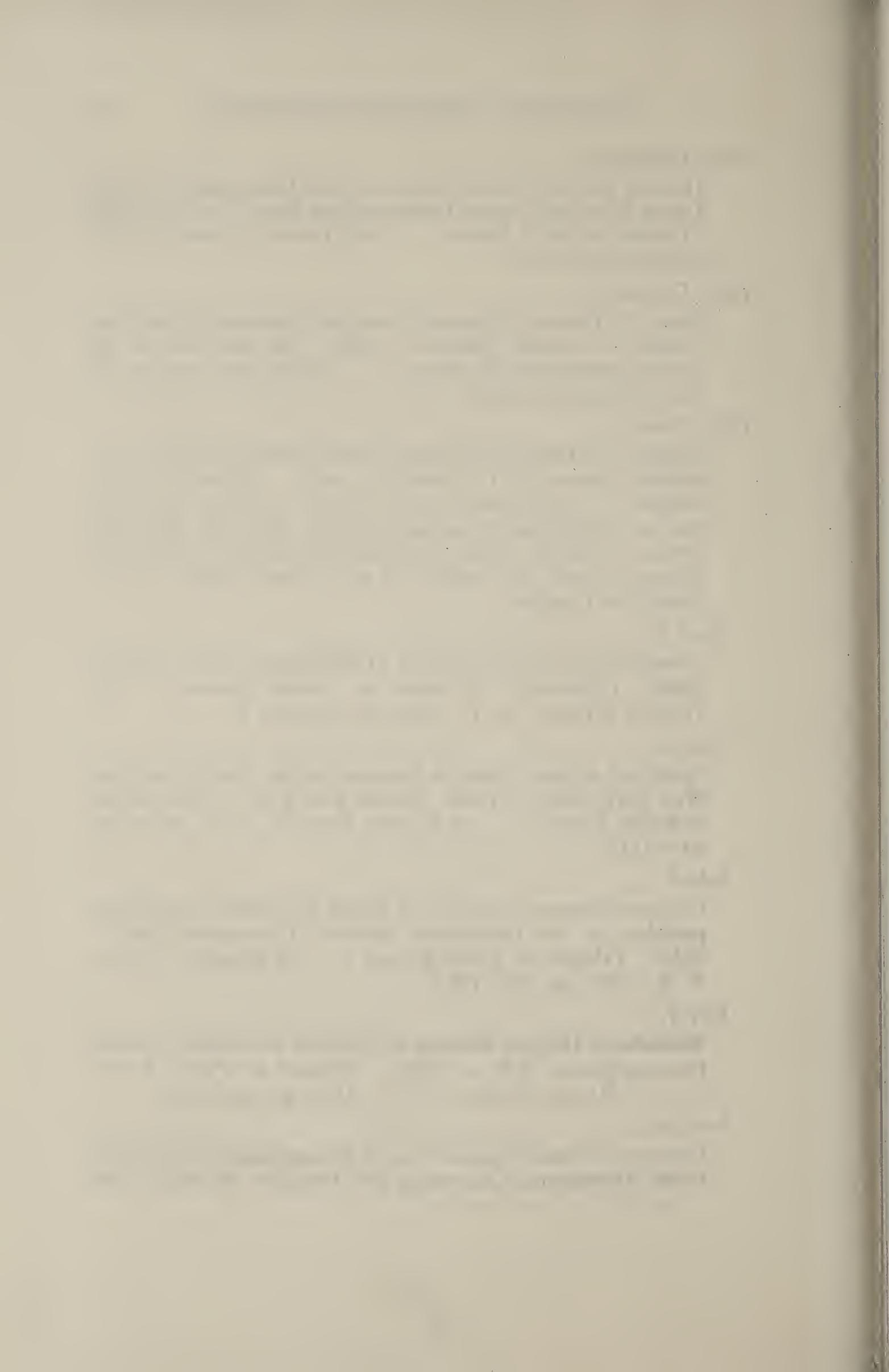
Governor Seymour's speech on taking the chair as permanent president of the Democratic National Convention, July 6, 1868. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 335-338.)

July 9

Remarks of Horatio Seymour in National Convention pending the nomination, July 9, 1868. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 340-341.)

July 10

Governor Seymour's acceptance of the nomination of the National Democratic Convention for President of the United



States. Speeches at Tammany Hall, New York, July 10, 1868. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 341-347.)

July 13

Governor Seymour to the citizens of Utica on his return from the Democratic National Convention, July 13, 1868. (Printed in *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, N. Y., 1868, p. 347.)

August 4

[Letter of acceptance of Horatio Seymour to General G. W. Morgan and others.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

September 10

[Address of Horatio Seymour before the Saratoga Agricultural Fair, Sept. 10, 1868:]

(Newspaper clipping—*New York World*, Sept. 11, 1868—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 22-23

Campaign Speeches at Avon, Caledonia, Leroy, Batavia, Attica, Buffalo and Rochester, N. Y., en route to Cleveland, O., Oct. 22, 1868; Dunkirk, Westfield, Northeast, Erie, Ashtabula, Painesville and Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 23, 1868.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 24

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Chicago, Ill.] (Political.)

(Newspaper clipping—*Albany Argus*—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 26-27

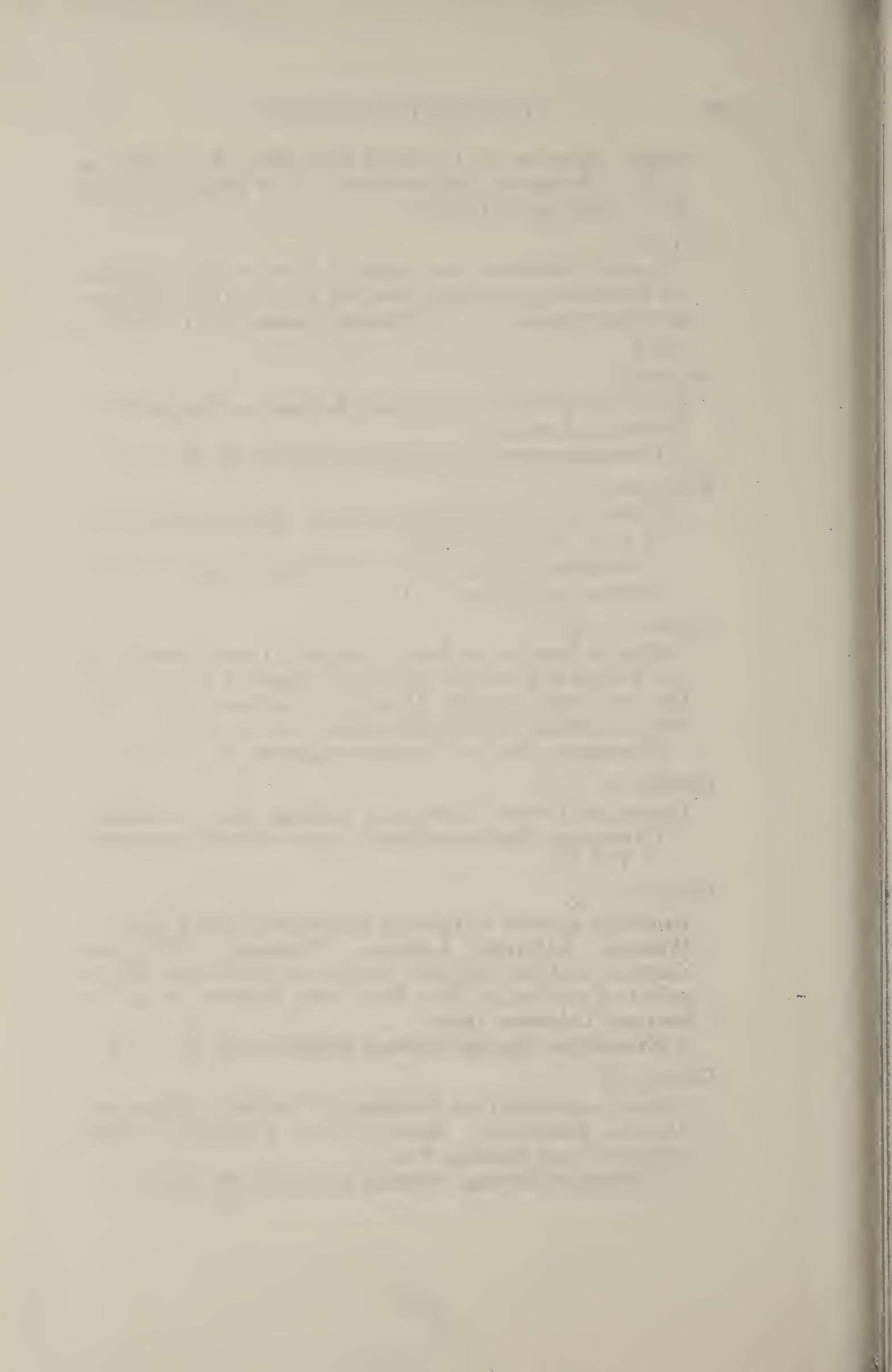
Campaign speeches en route to Indianapolis from Chicago, at Wanatah, Lafayette, Lebanon, Thorntown, Whitestown, Zionsville and Indianapolis; speeches en route from Indianapolis to Columbus, at New Paris, New Madison, Piqua, Urbana and Columbus, Ohio.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 29

Campaign speeches from Pittsburgh to Reading, at Johnstown, Altoona, Huntington, Mount Union, Lewistown, Mifflin, Harrisburg and Reading, Pa.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



October 30

Campaign speeches Reading to Philadelphia.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 31

Campaign speech at Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1870, January ?

Speech of Horatio Seymour before Dairymen's Convention as its President, at Utica, N. Y.

(Newspaper clipping—*Utica Morning Herald*, Jan. 14, 1870—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

March 9

[Lecture of Horatio Seymour, "Recollections of Public Men," at Mechanics Hall.]

(Newspaper clipping of March 10, 1870, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

June 1

[Address of Horatio Seymour at the laying of the Cornerstone of the Steuben Monument in Utica, N. Y., June 1, 1870.]

(Typewritten copy in Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

June 30

"History and Topography of New York," a lecture by Horatio Seymour at Cornell University, June 30, 1870, Utica, 1870, 8vo, 32 pp.

July 15

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Rochester, N. Y. on canals.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

August 3

[Letter of Horatio Seymour to the Workingmen's Assembly at Rochester on the Chinese Question, Aug. 3, 1870.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

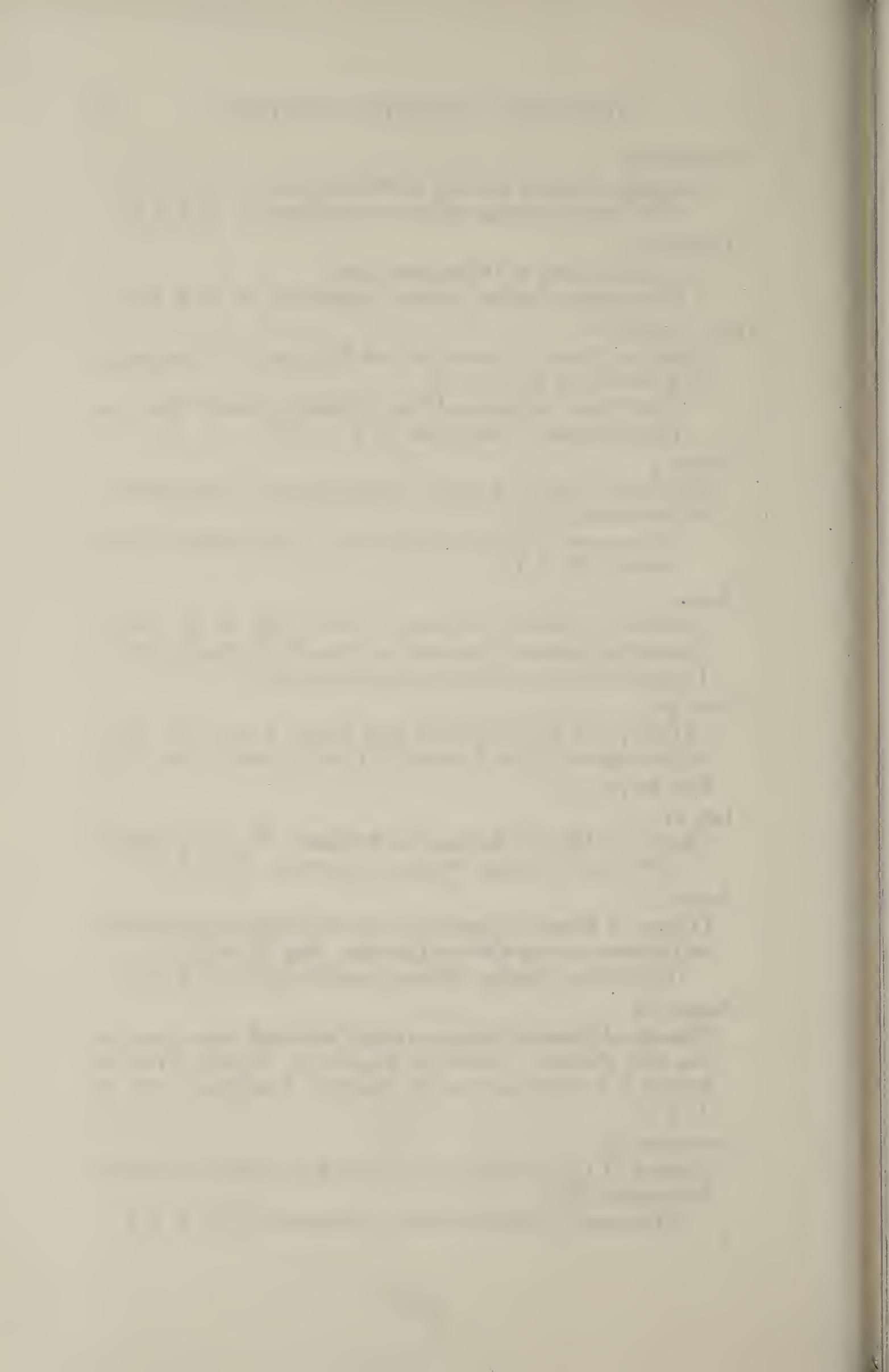
August 18

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Centennial Anniversary of the Old Palatine Church on August 18, 1870.] (Extract printed in "Following the Old Mohawk Turnpike," 1927, p. 11.)

September 29

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at State Fair, Sept. 29, 1870 at Milwaukee, Wis.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



October 18

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Rome, N. Y., Oct. 18, 1870.]
(Political.)

(Newspaper clipping—“*Daily Observer*,” Oct. 20, 1870—
Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 27

“Our Canals”: Address of the Hon. Horatio Seymour upon the Funding Bill and the necessity for cheap canal transportation, delivered at a public meeting in the City of New York, Oct. 27, 1870. New York [1870], 8vo, 4 pp.

November 3

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Utica, N. Y., Democratic Meeting, Nov. 3, 1870.]

(Newspaper clipping—*Daily Observer*, Nov. 4, 1870—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

November 4

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Democratic Mass Meeting at Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 4, 1870.]

(Newspaper clipping—*Buffalo Courier*, Nov. 5, 1870—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

Also address to the Buffalo Board of Trade the same day.

November 5

[Speech of Horatio Seymour in Shakespeare Hall, Syracuse, N. Y., Nov. 5, 1870, on the political crisis.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

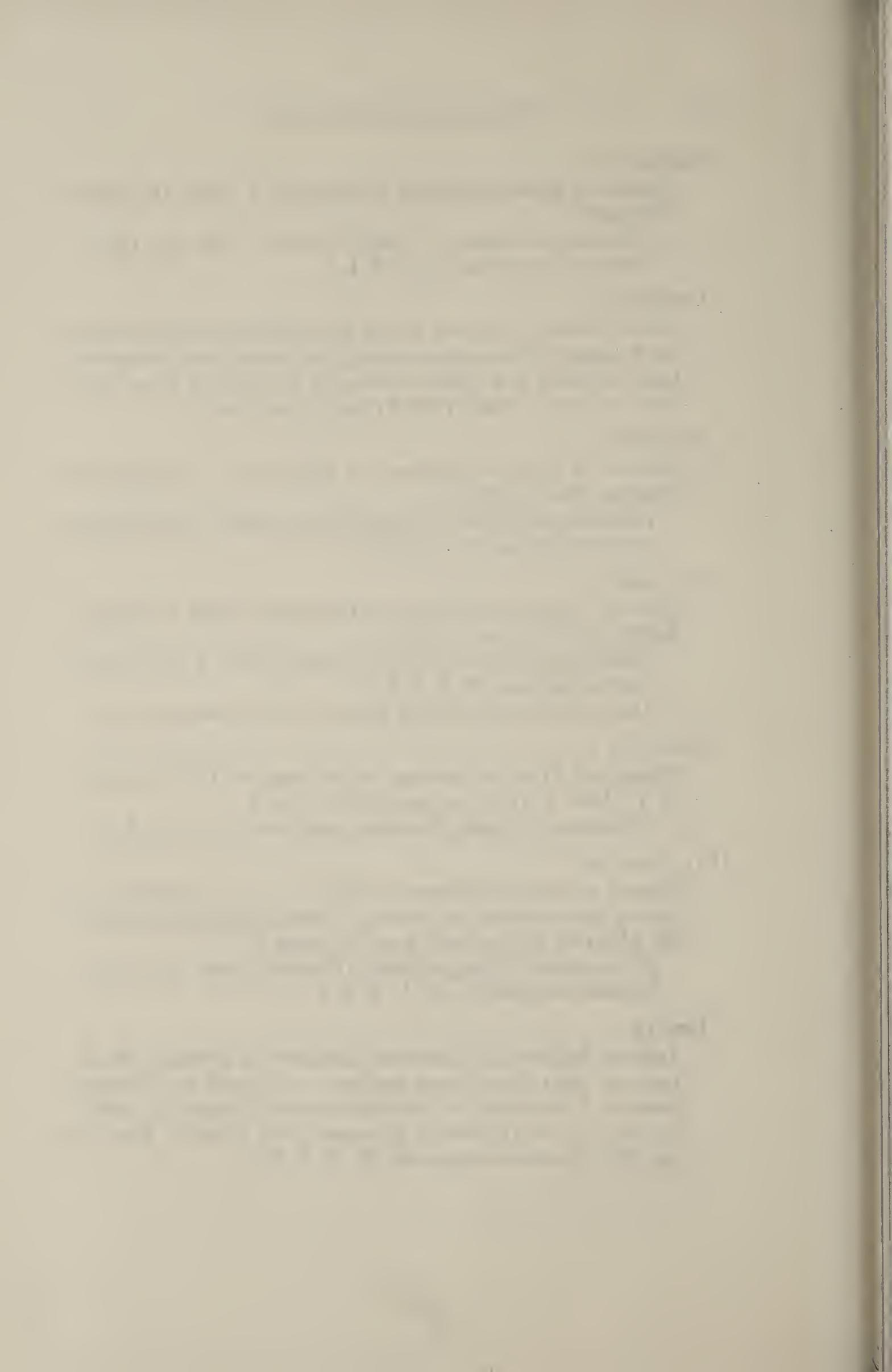
1871, June 12

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Utica, N. Y., at a jubilee celebrating the conclusion of peace in Germany by the Germans of the Mohawk Valley, held June 12, 1871.]

(Newspaper clipping—*Daily Observer*, June 13, 1871—
Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

June 29

Address delivered by Governor Seymour at Pompey, N. Y., June 29, 1871 (on pioneer settlers). (Printed in “*Historic Pompey, A Memorial to Governor Seymour, August 15, 1906*,” ob. 4to, pp. 10-12; also in *Syracuse Daily Courier*, June 30, 1871, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



September 8

[Address of Horatio Seymour at the Winfield Union Fair on Sept. 8, 1871] (Printed in the *Utica Morning Herald*, Sept. 9, 1871.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

September 29

[Address of Horatio Seymour at the Fair of the Onondaga Indians held on their reservation, Sept. 29, 1871.] (Printed in the *Syracuse Daily Courier*, Sept. 30, 1871.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 30

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Utica Opera House, Oct. 30, 1871.] (Political.)

(Newspaper clipping—*Daily Observer*, Oct. 31, 1871, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 31

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at a Mass Meeting held in Utica, N. Y., Oct. 31, 1871.]

(Newspaper clipping—*Daily Observer*, Nov. 1, 1871—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1872, January 27

[Address of Horatio Seymour at a meeting in Steinway Hall, Jan. 27, 1872, on prison reform.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

May 30

[Address of Horatio Seymour at Utica, N. Y., on Decoration Day, May 30, 1872.]

(Newspaper clipping—*Daily Observer*, May 31, 1872, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

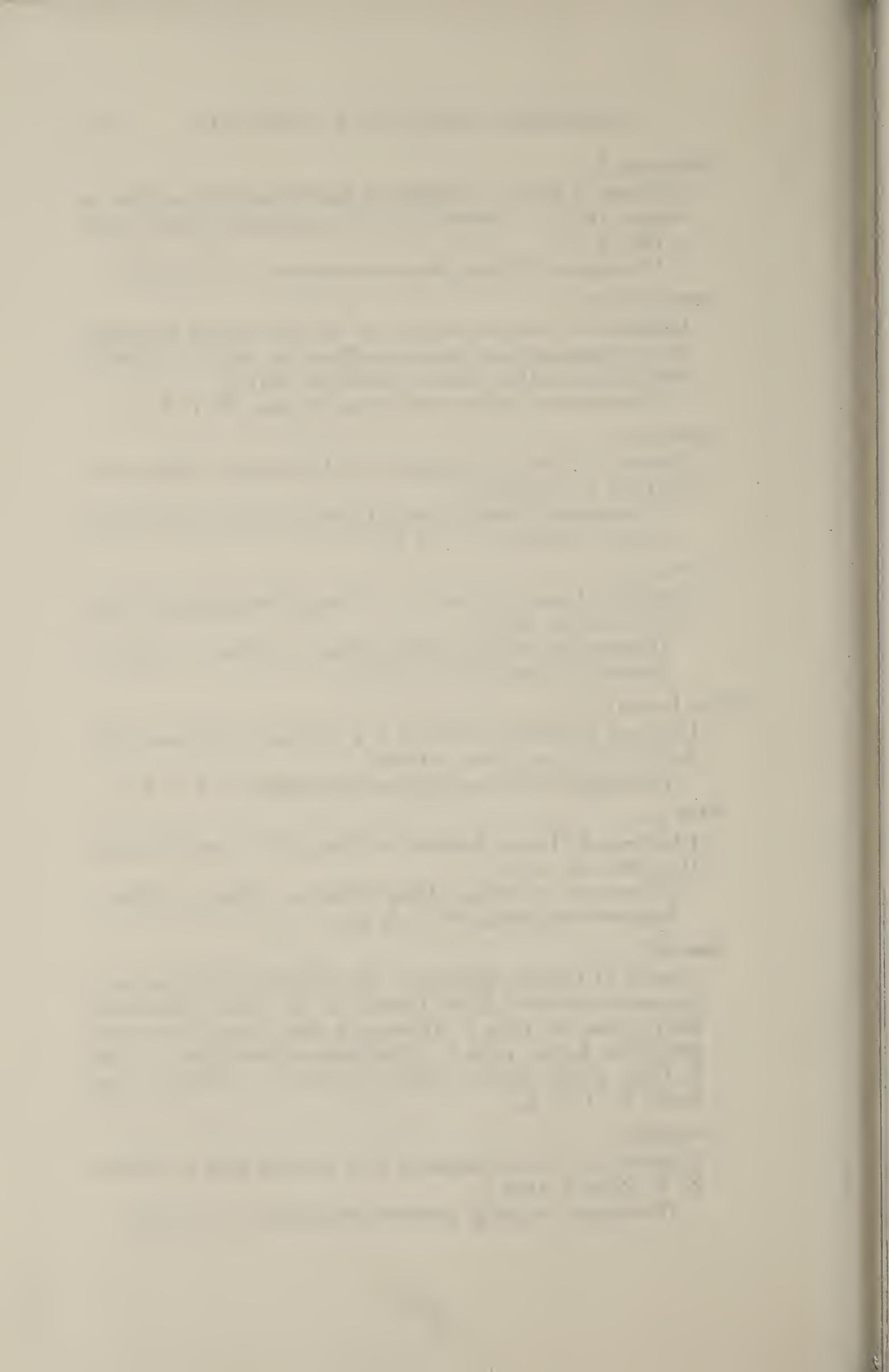
June 26

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Centennial Celebration of the establishment of Tryon County, N. Y., held at Johnstown, N. Y., June 26, 1872.] (Printed in *The Gloversville Intelligencer* for July 4, 1872.) (Publication Office File.) (Also in *Utica Daily Observer*, June 26, 1872). Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.

November 2

[Address of Horatio Seymour at a meeting held at Clinton, N. Y., Nov. 2, 1872.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



December

[“The Village Bar-Room.” An address delivered before the Pioneers’ Central Association of Central New York by Horatio Seymour, published in the *Rensselaer County Gazette* at Greenbush, N. Y., December 12, 1872.] (Ms. copy in The N. Y. H. S.)

1873, January 15

[Address of Horatio Seymour at the 8th Annual Meeting of the American Dairymen’s Association at Utica, N. Y., on January 15, 1873.]

(Newspaper clipping—*Utica Morning Herald*—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

January 21

Address of Governor Seymour at the opening of the Prison Reform Congress held at Baltimore, January 21, 1873. Utica, N. Y., 1873, 8vo, 14 pp.

June 25

[Address of Horatio Seymour on the dedication of the Samuel Kirkland Monument in the cemetery at Hamilton College.] (Printed in the pamphlet “Exercises” of that occasion, Utica, N. Y., pp. 23–36; also in “Documentary History of Hamilton College.” Clinton, N. Y., 1922, pp. 263–274.)

July 3

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Commencement of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., July 3, 1873.] np, nd, 8vo, 18 pp.

1874, June 12?

[Address of Horatio Seymour at the 50th Anniversary of the Belleville Union Academy, June 12?, 1874.]

(Newspaper clipping—*Utica Morning Herald*, June 13, 1874—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

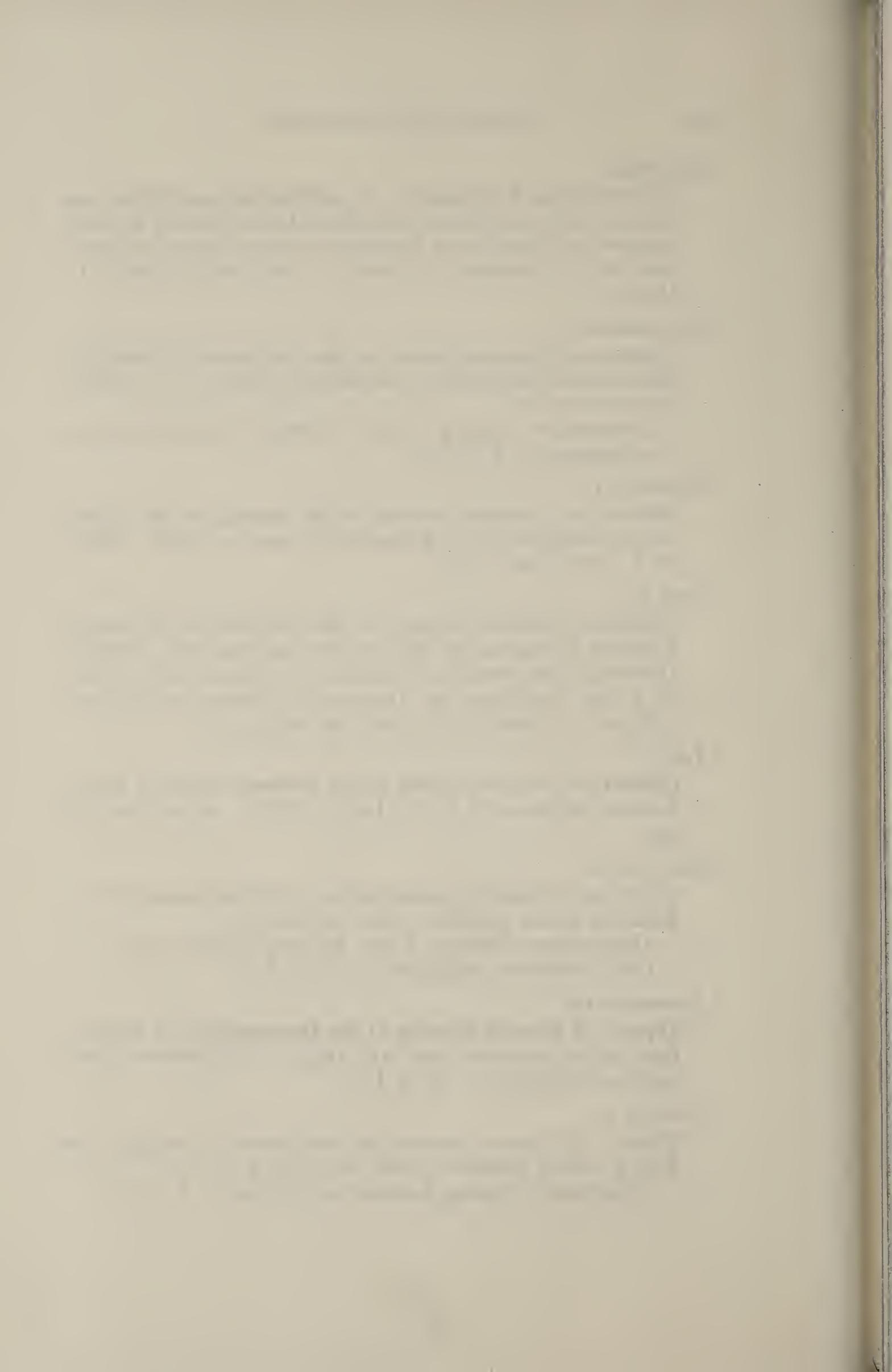
September 16

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Democratic State Convention held at Syracuse, Sept. 16, 1874.] (Typewritten copy, Seymour Collection, N. Y. S. L.)

October 26

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Ratification Meeting of the King’s County Democracy, Oct. 26, 1874.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



October 27

"Judicial Corruption." Speech of Horatio Seymour, New York, Oct. 27, 1874. np, nd, 8vo, 4 pp.

1875, January 8

[Letter of Horatio Seymour to the Hon. R. A. Parmenter dated Utica, Jan. 8, 1875, relating to the office of United States Senator.] np, nd, 2 pp. (Seymour Collection, N. Y. S. L.)

September 15

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the reunion of the Cumberland Army in Utica, N. Y., Sept. 15, 1875.]

(Newspaper clipping—*Daily Observer*, Sept. 16, 1875—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 28

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at Democratic Mass Meeting held in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Oct. 28, 1875.]

(Newspaper clipping—*New York Herald*, Oct. 29, 1875—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 30

[Address of Horatio Seymour at a political meeting held at Utica, N. Y., Oct. 30, 1875.]

(Newspaper clipping—*Daily Observer*, Nov. 1, 1875—Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

November 9

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the dinner of the Mercantile Library Association held at Delmonico's, New York City, Nov. 9, 1875.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1876, March 30

[Remarks of ex-Governor Horatio Seymour before the Assembly Committee on Canals, March 30, 1876.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

April 27?

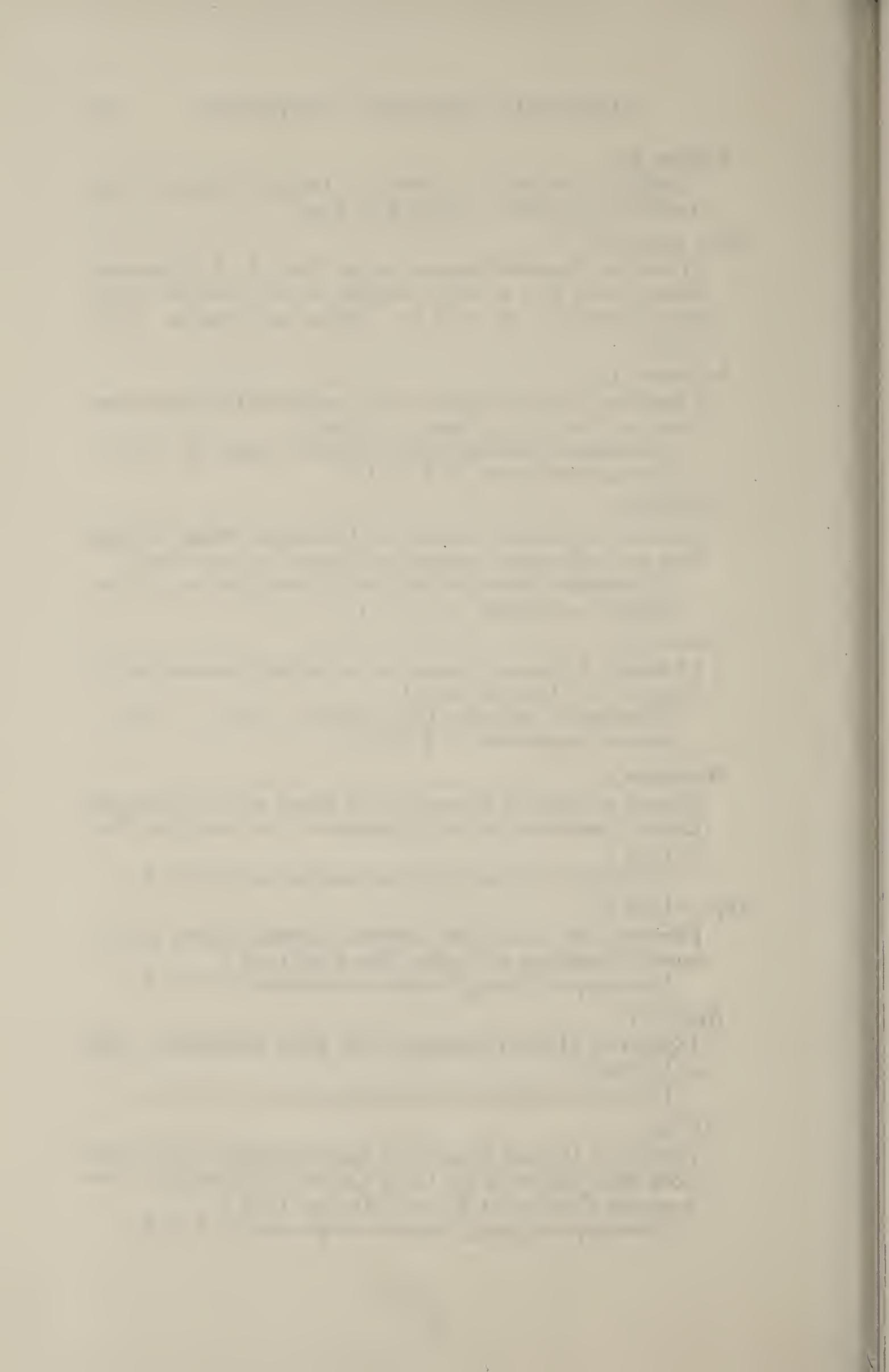
[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the State Convention, April 27?, 1876.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

May 30

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the presentation of the New York State banner to the U. S. Centennial Exposition in the Assembly Chamber at Albany, May 30, 1876.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



July 4

[Address of Horatio Seymour delivered at the Centennial Celebrations at Herkimer and Rome, N. Y., on July 4, 1876.]
"Our Historic Valley."

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

September 29

[Address of Horatio Seymour at the Opera House, Utica, N. Y., at a political meeting, Sept. 29, 1876.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 31

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Utica, N. Y., Opera House at a Democratic Meeting for "Robinson and Reform"] held Oct. 31, 1876.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

December 5

[Address of Horatio Seymour before the College of Presidential Electors of the State of New York, at Albany, Dec. 5-6, 1876.] (Printed in "Proceedings of the College . . . , Albany, 1876, 8vo, pp. 9-27.) (This address disproves the statements in "Twenty Years of Congress from Lincoln to Garfield," by James G. Blaine, Norwich, Conn., 1886, Vol. 2, p. 412.)

1877, February 7

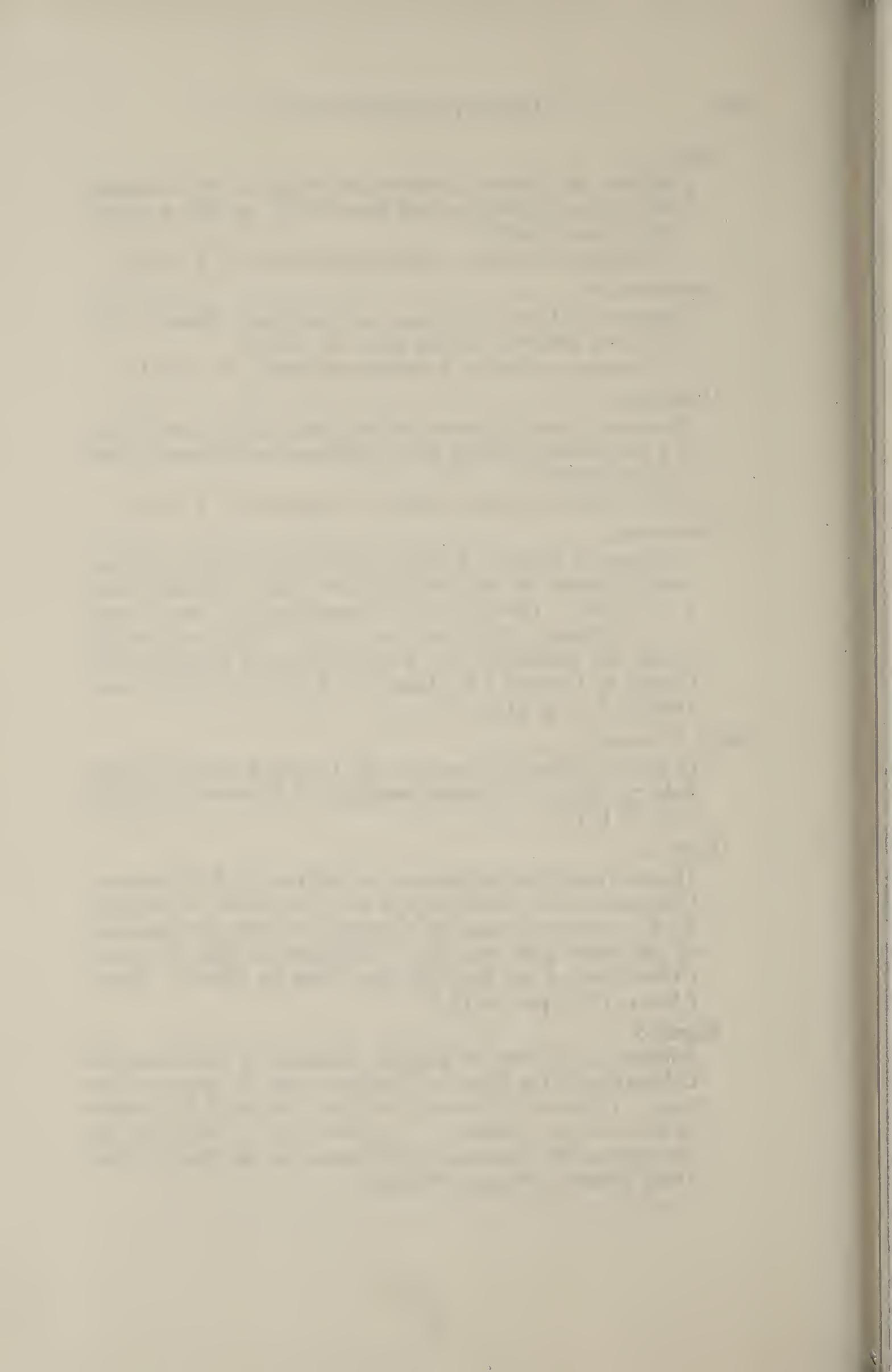
[Letter of Horatio Seymour to the Cooper Institute Meeting, Feb. 7, 1877.] (Printed broadside in Seymour Collection, N. Y. S. L.)

July 30

[Letter from Horatio Seymour to the Hon. T. R. Westbrook, Chairman at the proceedings of the Celebration at Kingston, N. Y., commemorating the Centennial of the first formation of the State, July 30, 1877.] (Printed in *The Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York* by Allen C. Beach, Albany, 1879, pp. 50-53.)

August 6

Address of welcome by Horatio Seymour at the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany, Aug. 6, 1877, at Oriskany. (Printed in Memorial of the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany . . . , Utica, N. Y., 1878, pp. 18-26; also in *The Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York*, Albany, 1879, pp. 66-71.)



August 15

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at the celebration of the unveiling of the Cherry Valley Monument, Aug. 15, 1877.] (Printed in *The Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York* by Allen C. Beach, Albany, 1879, pp. 361-363. Reprinted from the *Cherry Valley Gazette*.)

September

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at a County Fair held at Lonville, N. Y., in September, 1877.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 17

Address of the Hon. Horatio Seymour [at the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Saratoga and the capitulation of General Burgoyne held at Schuylerville, N. Y.] np, nd, 8vo, 22 pp. (Also printed in *The Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York* by Allen C. Beach, Albany, 1879, pp. 252-264.)

1878, February

“The Use of Short Words.” Remarks made to the New York School Commissioners at Utica, N. Y., February 1878, by Horatio Seymour. Utica, N. Y., 1878, 8vo, 8 pp.

February 21

Horatio Seymour on “Higher Education” (University Extension Department, Albany, N. Y. Circular 14, March, 1892.) [Speech delivered at a meeting of the Association of School Commissioners and City Superintendents at Utica, Feb. 21, 1878.]

April 9

Speech of Horatio Seymour before the Canal Committee of the Legislature of New York, April 9, 1878. np, nd, 8vo, pp. 14 + 2.

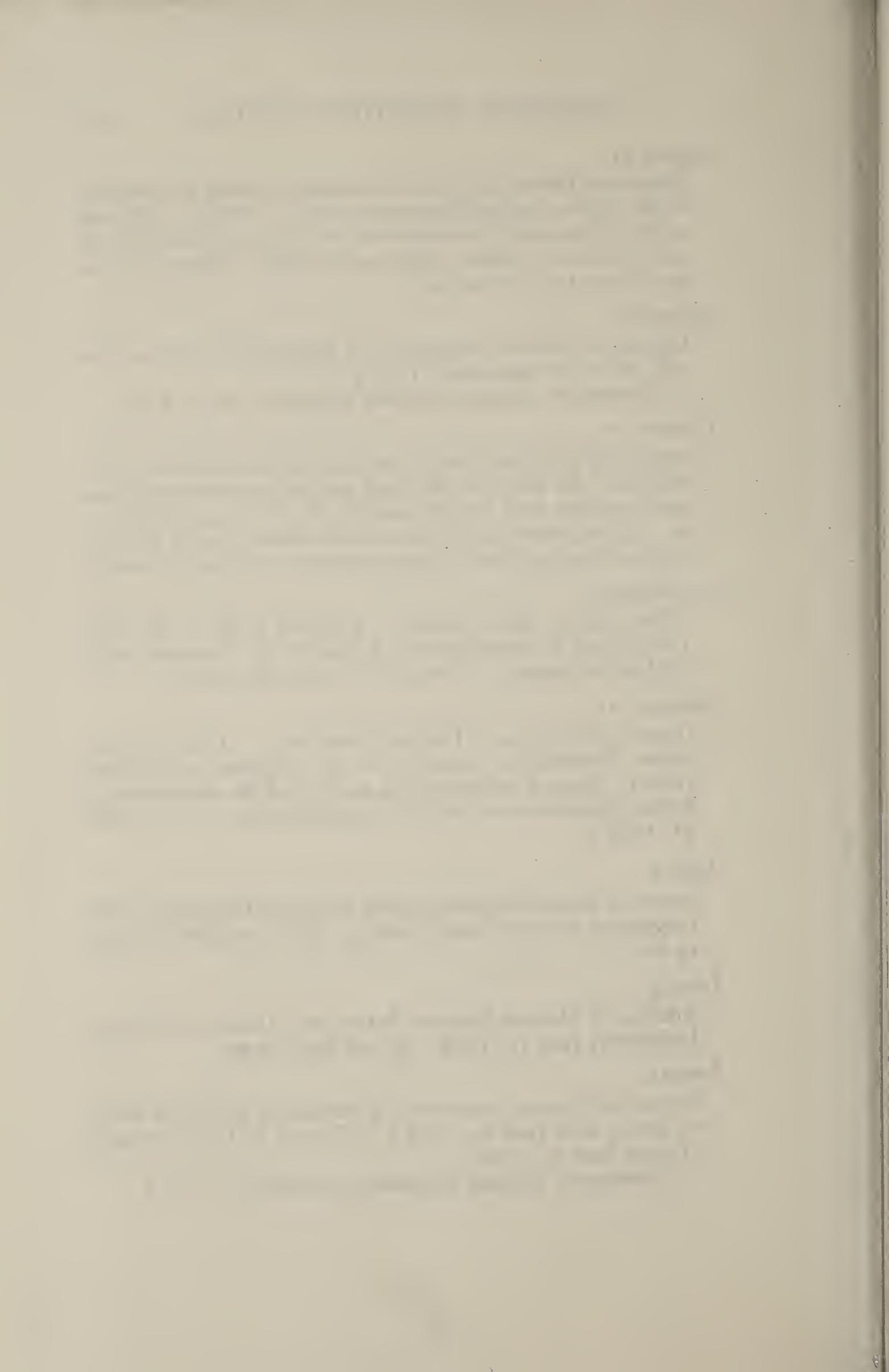
June 19

Address of Horatio Seymour before the Alumni of Madison University, June 19, 1878. np, nd, 8vo, 16 pp.

June 24

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at a meeting of the Utica Board of Trade held June 24, 1878.] (Printed in *Utica Morning Herald*, June 25, 1878.)

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



October 19

[Letter of Horatio Seymour to the Hon. Erastus Brooks on "commerce and finance," dated Utica, Oct. 19, 1878.] np, nd, 8vo, 7 pp. (Seymour Collection, N. Y. S. L.)

December

Address of Horatio Seymour at the Dairymen's International Exhibition, New York, December 1878. np, nd, 8vo, 8 pp.

"The Government of the United States" by Horatio Seymour. (From the November-December number of the *North American Review.*) 8vo, pp. [16]. (Reprint from *North American Review*, Vol. 127, No. 265, November-December, 1878, pp. 258-274.)

The tramp nuisance. Gov. Seymour's Views and Suggestions. His paper on "Crime and Tramps" in *Harper's Magazine*. np, nd, 8vo, pp. 3.

1879, April

"The Influence of New York on American Jurisprudence." By Horatio Seymour. Reprinted from the *Magazine of American History*, April, 1879, New York, 1879, 8vo, pp. 217-230.

July 4

1879. Fourth of July at Auburn Prison. Proceedings and address of Horatio Seymour. A gratifying celebration for the inmates. Utica, N. Y., nd, 8vo, 12 pp. (Also printed in "Historic Pompey, a Memorial to Governor Seymour, August 15, 1906," pp. [14-16].)

August 25

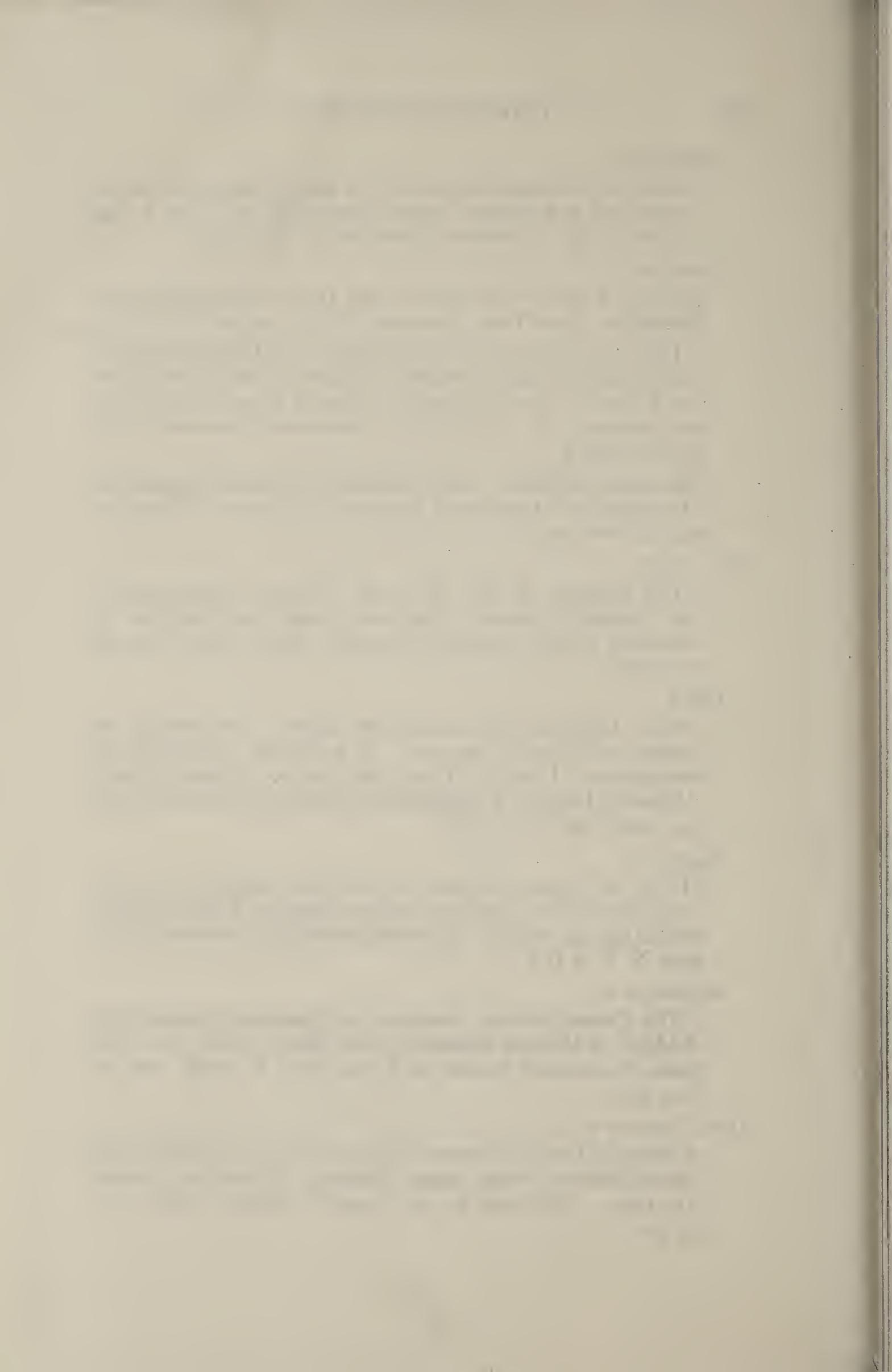
[Letter of Horatio Seymour to the Hon. Hiram Gray, President, dated Utica, Aug. 25, 1879, relating to Elmira Celebration, Aug. 29, 1879.] (Printed broadside in Seymour Collection, N. Y. S. L.)

September 8

"The Contest between American and European Landowners." Address of Horatio Seymour to the officers of the New York State Agricultural Society at Utica, Sept. 8, 1879. np, nd, 8vo, 4 pp.

1880, January 21

Address of Horatio Seymour before the New York State Agricultural Society at the Annual Meeting, Wednesday, January 21, 1880. Published by the Society. Albany, 1880. 8vo, 37 pp.



March 16

[Speech at Mass Meeting in aid of the Herald Irish Relief Fund at Utica, N. Y., March 16, 1880.] "How American Benevolence may affect European Rulers," by Horatio Seymour.

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

June 16

Address of Horatio Seymour at Wells Female College, Aurora, N. Y., June 16, 1880. "The Value of Intelligence." Utica, N. Y., 1880. 8vo, pp. 15.

August 31

[Remarks at a special meeting of the Saratoga Monument Association, Aug. 31, 1880, on the appropriateness of this monument and markers for other places on the battlefield at Saratoga.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

September 15

"The Purposes of the Republican Party Hurtful to the Rights and Interests of the People, and Most so to those of the North!" Speech of Horatio Seymour at the Utica Opera House, Wednesday evening, Sept. 15, 1880. Utica, N. Y., 1880. 8vo, 30 pp.

October 8

Address of the Hon. Horatio Seymour at Chickering Hall, New York, Oct. 8, 1880, before the Young Men's Democratic Club. . . . np, nd, 8vo, 20 pp.

October 19

[Speech introducing General George B. McClellan at the reception to him at Utica, Oct. 19, 1880.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 21

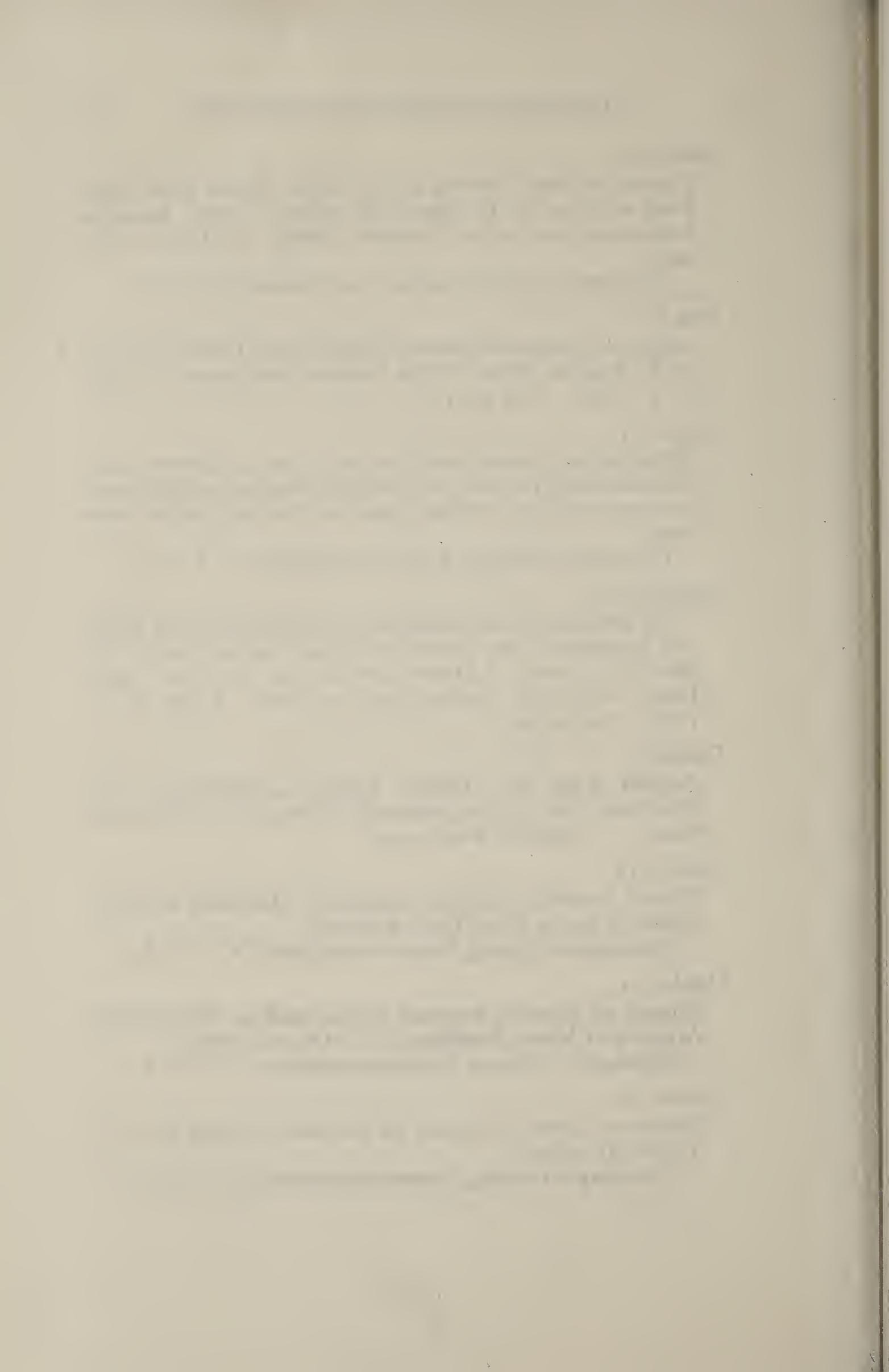
[Speech of Horatio Seymour on the tariff at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 21, 1880.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October 28

[Speech of Horatio Seymour on the tariff at Little Falls, N. Y., Oct. 28, 1880.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)



October 30

[Political speech of Horatio Seymour at a Democratic rally at Watertown, N. Y., Oct. 30, 1880.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

October

"The Injury which Republicanism does to Commerce and to the Producing States." Extract from speech of Hon. Horatio Seymour at Utica, October 1880. np, nd, 8vo, 9 pp.

1881, August 31

"Remarks . . . in opposition to the reimposition of tolls on west-bound freight . . ." By Horatio Seymour, August 30, 1881. Albany, 1881, 8vo, 11 pp.

1882

"The Political Situation." By Horatio Seymour. From the North American Review, pp. 153-158. [Written after the elections of 1882.]

"The Free Canal Question." Views of ex-Gov. Seymour on the subject. [Utica ? 1882.] 7 pp. Library of Congress.

February 27

"To the Hon. J. W. Higgins, Chairman of the Assembly Committee on Canals." [Letter by Horatio Seymour dated Utica, Feb. 27, 1882, on the subject of canals.] 4to, 4 pp. Seymour Collection, N. Y. S. L.

March 1

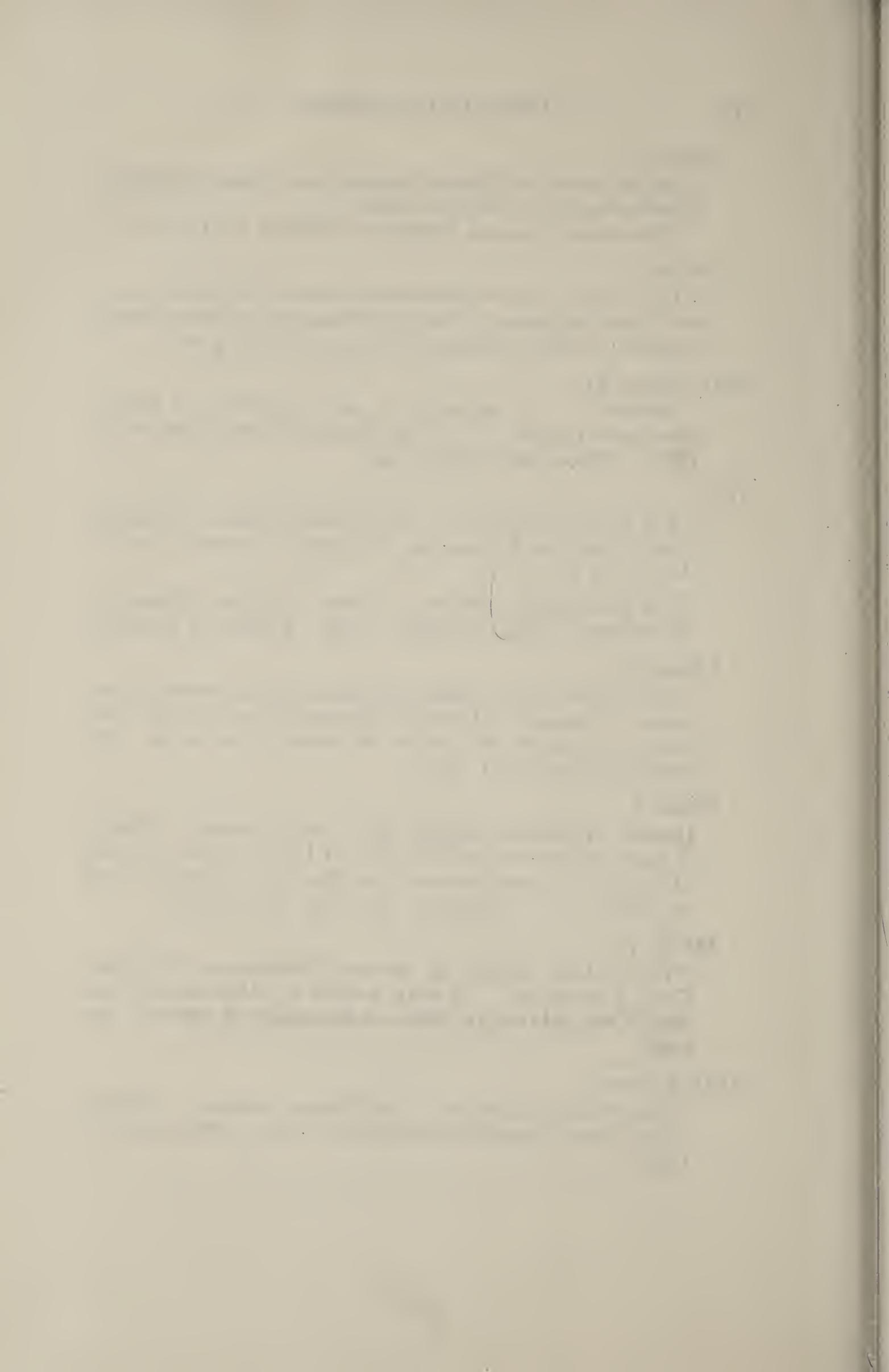
[Speech of Horatio Seymour on "Our Charities" delivered at the Semi-Centennial of The City of Utica, March 1, 1882.] (Printed in "Semi-Centennial of The City of Utica, March 1st, 1882 . . ." Utica, N. Y., 1882, pp. 24-28.)

March 31

"To the Hon. Robert H. Roberts, Chairman of the Senate Canal Committee." [Letter written by Horatio Seymour, dated Utica, March 31, 1882, on the subject of canals.] 4to, 4 pp.

1883, February

"The Political Situation." By Horatio Seymour. (Printed in the *North American Review* for February, 1883, pp. 153-158.)



1885

Letter of Horatio Seymour to the Secretary of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation showing the great value of the state canals and favoring their improvement by the state. (*N. Y. Daily Comm. Bulletin*, 1885, 8vo, 8 pp.)

August 19

[Speech of Horatio Seymour at a Canal Conference, Utica, N. Y., Aug. 19, 1885, of which he was made chairman.]

(Newspaper clipping, Seymour scrapbooks, N. Y. S. L.)

1886

Argument of Horatio Seymour in favor of the construction of a new lock at the Sault Ste. Marie and the improvement of the Hay Lake Channel. 1886, 32 pp. Seymour Collection, N. Y. S. L.

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